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A modern evaluation of Nannul

(eḻuttatikāram)

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ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR

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Aḻaku Accakam, Citamparam.

FOREWORD

The thesis submitted by the author for the M. Litt. degree of the Annamalai University, is now available in print in the form of this present book. The author worked under my supervision for M.Litt. degree and therefore requested me to write this foreword.

The size of the book itself shows the amount of detailed study which the author has undertaken. He has brought together many *sūtras* from grammatical works especially their phonological portions which are no longer available. With the help of these he tried to give a picture of the development of the grammatical studies in Tamil land from the earliest times to the modern age, making Naṉṉūl as it were the centre of his studies. It is in this way that this thesis becomes an evalution of Naṉṉūl from the modern point of view. But in reality it is also an evalution from the various aspects of phonological studies carried on in Tamil land.

This work is a valuable introduction to any historical study of the phonological researches in Tamil. For the sake of those who may not read the original texts and commentaries in Tamil the author has explained in detail the various statements made in these works so that these scholars can

follow these principles and conventions. From all these points of view this thesis is a valuable addition to the modern Tamil research and I must congratulate the Annamalai University and the Linguistics Department, for making this valuable thesis available in print.

Madurai,
27—8—1968.

T. P. Meenakshisundaran
VICE-CHANCELLOR, MADURAI UNIVERSITY

“ அறிதோறு அறியாமை கண்டற்றால்......”
– திருவள்ளுவர்

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This book was originally submitted to the Annamalai University in 1963 for the degree of Master of Letters. After the degree was awarded the University has accepted it for publication through the Department of Linguistics. Though it is possible, no change is made in the original thesis except a few alterations here and there, to make it more clear.

I take it a great privilage to place in record my gratitude to the Annamalai University for accepting me as a research student in its Linguistics Department under the supervision of Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran and to the Government of India which offered me a research fellowship and to the University Grants Commission which continued this help. But for this kind and generous help it extended to me it would not have been possible for me to carry out this research successfully.

I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to my teacher, guide, and philosopher Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai University who was so kind enough to guide and supervise my research during the past few years. I deem it a great privilege and honour to have worked under him. If not for his invaluable guidance, I am sure, that the present thesis would not have taken this shape. I also thank him for his foreword to this book.

I thank Mr. M. Shanmugam Pillai, for his initial efforts in sending this book to the press.

My thanks are due to Dr. S. Agesthialingom, M.A., Ph.D.(Kerala), Ph.D.(Indiana), Director, Advanced Centre for Linguistics, Annamalai University for his keen interest in the publication of this book as well as in all my activities. I thank my collegues Messrs. N. Kumaraswami Raja, K. Balasubramaniam, P. Kothandaraman and G. Srinivasa Varma who have helped me in one way or other.

By mistake the page numbers are not printed continuously in the chapter on Iḷampūraṇar's commentary. Instead the Roman numbers are printed.

No index is found in this book. It is not included for want of space.

Annamalainagar,
1—10—1968.

G. Vijayavenugopal

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INTRODUCTION

Nannūl is the most popular and also an authoritative grammar in Tamil. Latterly Tolkāppiyam is receiving a higher authority to learn the civilisation of the country and it is widely studied by scholars who specialise in higher studies of Tamil. There have been many grammars written in Tamil but they have not received the importance which Nannūl has achieved. This thesis attempts to explain the unique position occupied by Nannūl ever since it was written at the turning of the twelfth century A.D. upto modern times. Nannūl consists of two parts, one on phonology and the other on morphology. This thesis restricts itself to a study of the first part on phonology. Even here the second chapter called *pata-v-iyal* deals really with the analysis of words into its constituent elements and the arrangement of morphemes in a word. Since this really concerns morphology it has not been taken into consideration. What are called *cāriyais* or empty morphemes which are usually treated under morphology, due to their importance in sandhi have been considered here from the point of view of morphophonemics though not from the point of view of morphology.

For recognising the original contribution of Nannūl it was necessary to bring together all the works both in verse and prose on Tamil phonology including stray *sūtras* which alone have come to us from ancient grammars, thanks to a few stray quotations in later day commentaries. This search has resulted in bringing to light a number of books on Tamil phonology and Nannūl's indebtedness to many of them. It

has been possible to trace some of the phrases found in Nannūl to ancient *sūtras*. This has also revealed that there was a popular and authoritarian school of Tamil grammar as opposed to Tolkāppiyam. Though this school, in a way represented by Avinayam, has been so completely eclipsed by the commentators of Tolkāppiyam that the learned world has almost forgotten the contribution of this great school, yet a study makes it clear that the principles of that school of thought was still powerful enough in the age of Nannūl to be followed by Pavananti, the author of Nannūl. This study has emphasised the gradual rise in the importance and popularity of Tolkāppiyam.

This study has necessitated a careful analysis of the other old texts and commentaries so as to bring out the indebtedness of Nannūl to these works as contrasted with the original contribution of Nannūl. A careful comparison of Tolkāppiyam itself and the earliest commentary of Iḷampūraṇar shows that in many places Nannūl is following Tolkāppiyam as interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar. Though in this way Nannūl is effecting a compromise between the living principles of a school of thought represented by Avinayam and those of Tolkāppiyar it has summarised these principles in such a captivating and easy way so as to be satisfactory to the people of the age as an authoritative grammar in Tamil. Its original contribution lies in preparing this kind of commingling of the principles so as to give a great sweep of the literary language as it was read and studied by the scholars and students of his age. Even if one argues, as some do in modern times, that Nannūl has not understood Tolkāppiyam clearly, one has to confess that Nannūl forms the best introduction to Tolkāppiyam and as

emphasised by this thesis, to the study of other old grammatical schools of thought. This comparative study has brought to light certain emendations and certain interpretations of the theories as pointed out in this thesis. But for this kind of comparative study these new points could not have, perhaps, come to light.

Next arises the problem of explaining why Naṉṉūl has come to be popular from its birth to the modern times. The various commentaries which have been written on this work along with various other works in Tamil have been studied in this view. The commentators have tried to fill in certain gaps or lacunae which they found in Naṉṉūl. The other independent works quoted from Naṉṉūl even when they differed from it. It was noticed that Tolkāppiyam was gradually becoming more and more popular in this age and the commentators tried to interpret the rules as echoes from Tolkāppiyam.

In view of this approach the thesis naturally falls into two parts, the first part dealing with the pre-Naṉṉūl works and the second part dealing with Naṉṉūl and the later works. In this way the history of the study of phonology in Tamil has been attempted with Naṉṉūl as the basis from the modern linguistic point of view. This modern view has thrown a flood of light on some of the aspects of the study on phonology of ancient grammarians.

The grammatical works discussed in the "pre-Naṉṉūl" section are arranged in that order only for matter of convenience but not because they are anterior to Tolkāppiyam. The present writer feels that it would be easier to compare

Tolkāppiyam with Naṉṉūl after tracing the indebtedness of the latter to other grammatical works.

There have been studies on phonology. But they were restricted to an exposition of the phonological principles of individual writers like that of Naccinārkkiṉiyar[1] or to a comparison of Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl alone[2]. To the knowledge of the present writer no attempt has been made to bring together all the grammarians for analysing and comparing their principles on phonology so as to bring out the importance of Naṉṉūl from the modern linguistic point of view. It has not been possible to give as appendix all the comparative material gathered for this study because of the voluminous nature of the material. It is however hoped that it will be possible to publish the whole of the material for the benefit of the research scholars at some distant date.

The age of the various commentators and grammarians are attempted in the course of the thesis itself. The editions which have been used in this study are given under bibliography and the references are as found in these works. But in referring to Naṉṉūl *sūtras* Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's opinion that Naṉṉūl begins only with the *sūtra* "*pū mali....*" has been accepted and therefore the numbers of the *sūtras* have been rearranged on this basis.

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1. S. V. Shanmugam, *Naccinārkkiṉiyar's conception of phonology*, Annamalai University, 1967.
2. S. Samuel Pillay, *Tolcapya-Nunnool* (revised by Walter Joyes) Vepery, Madras, 1858 and
   K. Veḷḷaivāraṇaṉ, *Tolkāppiyam-Naṉṉūl* (*Eḻuttatikāram*), Annamalai University, 1962.

1. PRE-NAṈṈŪL

1.1. AVINAYAM AND NAṈṈŪL

1.1.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1.11 Revival Today Tolkāppiyam reigns supreme in the world of Tamil grammar. But this is all due to a movement starting perhaps only a thousand years ago. The earliest known commentator Iḷampūraṇar does not seem to be quite sure about his own interpretations in many places. From this one can infer that in his age Tolkāppiyam was not the grammar well known to all. Perhaps the attempt to revive Tolkāppiyam studies started a little earlier, for, Yāpparuṅkala Virutti of the tenth century A. D. refers to *sūtras* which mention Tolkāppiyar with a feeling of veneration.[1]

1.1.12 Eclipse This raises the question as to what was the work which was more popular in that age so as to eclipse the glory of Tolkāppiyam. We learn the names of many authors from the commentaries especially from the commentary on Y. But it is only Mayilainātar, the earliest known commentator of Naṉṉūl who mentions the glory of two great grammatical works, viz., Avinayam and Tolkāppiyam though the glory is described in terms of the commentators of these two books.[2] The commentator of Avinayam praised by Mayilainātar is *Rācapavittira-p-pallavataraiyaṉ*.

---

1. "*Tolkāppiya-p-pulavōr tōṉṟa viritturaittār*............" YV p. 20.
   "*Oṇṭamiḻ nātar āyavar*" YV p. 39.
2. Naṉṉūl Mayilainātar's commentary p. 189.

He was probably a Commander and a Governor.[3] More or less the same reverence is shown by Mayilainātar to Iḷampūraṇar, the commentator of Tolkāppiyam. Iḷampūraṇar, however, is praised as a *sanyāsin* whose mind was full of the learnings of his age.[4] Mayilainātar is impartial. Avinayaṉār is described by him as one whose knowledge is praised by the world.[5] This is certainly a significant ephithet proving the popularity of Avinayaṉār at one time. Tolkāppiyam is described, however, as one who is great, not for his fame, but for his wisdom and knowledge which never shrink[6] perhaps during the explanations he gives about Tamil and its structure.

1.1.13 The name- Avinayam Having known thus much any student will be curious to know more about this grammarian Avinayaṉār. According to the tradition he was along with Tolkāppiyar, the student of Agastya.

The commentators quote Avinayaṉār by name. Generally his work goes by the name Avinayam in these commentaries. Dr. S. Somasundara Bharati will have it that the ancient custom was to give the very name of the author as meaning his work as well[7]. At a later date, in imitation of

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3. "*taṉṭalaṅ kiḻavaṉ takaivaru nēmi eṉṭicai niṟaipeyar Rācapavittira-p-pallavataraiyaṉ*" *Ibid.* p. 189.
4. "*uḷaṅkūr kēḷvi Iḷampūraṇar eṉṉum ētamil mātavar*" Ibid p. 190.
5. "*puvi pukaḻ pulamai Avinayaṉār*" Ibid p. 189.
6. "*olkā-p-perumai-t-Tolkāppiyaṉār*" Ibid p. 57.
7. Somasundara Bharati, "*Tolkāppiyar*" in *Kalai-k-kaḷañciyam*, Vol. VI, p. 215, Tamiḻ Vaḷarcci-k-kaḻakam, Madras, 1959.

Sanskrit, the masculine suffix *-ṉ* in the proper name was changed to the neuter suffix *-m* to denote the work of the author.

1.1.2 CONTENTS

1.1.21 Grammar and prosody There are only 82 *sūtras* available from Avinayam and it is with the help of these one has to reconstruct the real picture of this work. These *sūtras* relate to the study of *eḻuttatikāram*, *collatikāram* and also prosody. Most of the *sūtras* are found quoted in YV and therefore they, naturally, except a few, belong to prosody. Even here Avinayaṉār shines as the founder of the school which basing on the various rhythms of the metre speaks of 100 varieties of *vaṇṇam* as against 20 enumerated by Tolkāppiyar[8].

1.1.22 *Poruḷ* (poetics) There are *sūtras* like those quoted in *oḻipiyal* of YV on *kāntarvam* and *kaḷavu* being the *Tamiḻ iyal vaḻakkam*[9]; and these will go to show that Avinayaṉār had written about *poruḷatikāram* as well. Here also Avinayaṉār seems to have made an innovation, for, Tolkāppiyam has only two divisions in *poruḷ* viz., *akam* and *puṟam*. YV will make us believe that Avinayaṉār has introduced here a third division which is common to both viz., *aka-p-puṟa-t-tiṇai*[10].

---

8. YV pp. 389 & 390

9. YV pp. 534 & 535

10. YV p. 532 "*iṉi oru cārār akattiṇai puṟattiṇai akap-puṟattiṇai eṉa mūṉṟā-y-aṭ aṅkum eṉpa. āmāṟu Avinayattuṭ kāṇka*"

Since *aintiṇai* is given the place of eminence in *akam*, *kaikkiḷai* and *peruntiṇai* get out of this inner circle of pre-eminence to become one *aka-p-puṟam.* This certainly represents a changed outlook different from that of Tolkāppiyam. Nampiyakapporuḷ, probably of the 13th century A. D. as is well known, adds a third division viz., *akappuṟam*[11] a development represented earlier in Puṟapporuḷ veṇpā mālai, as a necessary extension of Avinayaṉār's theory. We are told that Puṟapporuḷ veṇpā mālai represents a different tradition from that of Tolkāppiyar, a tradition set up by Avinayaṉār and other colleagues of his.

1.1.3 STRUCTURE

1.1.31 *nūṟpā and veṇpā* From the quotations available one may conclude that this work consisted of *sūtras* in *nūṟpā* or *akaval* metre and also some in *veṇpā* metre. The commentators who quote these speak of the *sūtras* sometimes as *nūṟpā.* But the *sūtra* about *kāntarvam* quoted in YV[12] is in *veṇpā* metre. So is the *sūtra* defining *col* as contrasted with *eḻuttu*[13]. The *veṇpā* is often attributed to Avinaya-p-puṟanaṭai. It will be shown later that there is reason to believe that ordinarily the quotations in *veṇpā* in YV and other works are from Avinaya-p-puṟanaṭai. From the remarks of the commentators of Y and YK one may conclude

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11. *Nampiyakapporuḷ*, pp. 286, 290.

12. "*otta kulattār tamiyarā-y-ōriṭattu-t-*
tattamiṟ kaṇṭatam maṉpiṉā-luyttiṭa
-v-antara miṉṟi-p- puṇarva tatu-v-arō
kantaruva meṉṟa karuttu" See footnote 7 above.

13. "*taṉṉai-y-uṇarttiṉ eḻuttām piṟaporuḷai-c-*
cuṭṭutaṟ kaṇṇē-y-āñ col" Naṉṉūl. May. p. 54.

that this *puṟanaṭai* was composed by Avinayaṉār in 40 *veṇpās* as a complement to his original work Avinayam.[14]

1.1.32 *puṟanaṭai - kaṇakkiyal* : We have another interesting statement in YV which gives us an idea of the divisions of this book. YV quotes a general *sūtra* on the articulations of the three types of consonants and then states that Avinayaṉār gives the specific articulation of everyone of these sounds later in *kaṇakkiyal* as *puṟanaṭai.*[15] From this it is clear that there was a chapter perhaps in *eḻuttatikāram* of Avinayam which went by the name of *kaṇakkiyal.* Nowhere the commentators refer to Avinayam in terms of *atikāram.* Even when they refer to Tolkāppiyam they do not do it in terms of *atikāram.* *kaṇakku* in the name of the chapter *kaṇakkiyal* must necessarily mean the *neṭuṅkaṇakku* or alphabet; and *iyal* must mean a chapter. This statement is made by the commentator of Y to prove that usually the general method followed by the authors is first to make the general statement and then proceed to explain the particulars. Sometimes these specific descriptions, not elaborated fully by the general statement itself, are also called *puṟanaṭai*. In this way we get a picture of the internal arrangements of a chapter, consisting of the general and special portions. Perhaps it is this special or *puṟanaṭai* part which was mentioned in *veṇpā.* It is significant that this *sūtra* is described by Mayilainātar as Avinaya-p-puṟanaṭai.[16] One wonders therefore whether whilst writing

14. YK p. 2.
15. "*mutaliṭai nuṉi nā-p-pallitaḻ mūkkiṉ vaṉmai mutalā mummai-y-um piṟakkum eṉa-p-potu vakai-y-āṟ kūṟi iṉṉa-v-iṭattu iṉṉa eḻuttu-p-piṟakkum eṉṟu kaṇakkiyaluḷ puṟanaṭai-y-eṭuttōtiṉār Avinayaṉār ākalāṉum*" YV p. 69.
16. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 127.

the major part of the work in *nūṟpā*, Avinayaṉār wrote the exceptions in *veṇpā* metre.

1.1.33 Illustrations : There is a curious but interesting statement made by YV : "*i°°tu Avinayaṉār kāṭṭiya pāṭṭu*".[17] This will mean that Avinayaṉār not only composed the *sūtras* but also gave quotations from classics illustrating his rules. It is not clear whether he gave the full verses or as in the *urai-k-kārikai-c-cūttiram* found in YK gave only the beginning feet of the verses chosen as illustrations. Here is the verse·–

"*kōḻiyuṅ kūviṉa kukki laḻaittaṉa*
tāḻi-y-u ṇīla-t- taṭaṅkaṇīr pōtumiṉō
āḻicūḷ vaiyattu aṟiva ṉaṭi-y-ētti-k-
kūḻai naṉaiya-k- kuṭaintuṅ kuḷirpuṉal
ūḻi-y-uṇ maṉṉu-v-ō meṉṟēlō rempāvāy"

This particular verse itself is interesting as it seems to be taken from a *Tiruppāvai* or *Tiruvempāvai* sung by a Jain poet in praise of *Arhat*. We will have occasion to point out that Avinayaṉār was a Jain. This illustration reveals to us his power of poetic appreciation of even folk-songs.

1.1.4 TOPICS OF *eḻuttatikāram*

The commentary on Nēminātam, a grammatical treatise, quotes the following *sūtra* from Avinayam.[18]

"*eṇ peyar muṟai piṟappu aḷavu iyal vaṭivu*
puṇartalōṭu ēḻum poruntiya vaḻakkē"

"The number of sounds, their names, their order, their

17. YV p. 345.
18. Nēminātam, *pāyira urai*, p. 2.

articulation, their quantity, their form and sandhi are the seven topics (which are) according to usage".

This *sūtra* must have been taken from the main work Avinayam. The *māttirai* is spoken of here as *aḷaviyal*. This reminds us of Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation of *iyal* as *māttirai*.[19] Naṉṉūl uses *māttirai* instead of *aḷavu*.[20] The wording otherwise reminds us of that in Naṉṉūl.[21] But Naṉṉūl, in addition to the seven mentioned by Avinayam, includes five more viz., the three kinds of distribution of sounds (*mutal* or initial; *iṭainilai* or medial; *iṟu* or final), *pōli* and *patam*. Therefore though Naṉṉūl follows Avinayam in certain respects it does not follow it completely. It is only Nēminātam that follows Avinayam completely.

1.1.5 ARTICULATION

1.1.51 The Jain theory: Turning to the problems of *eḻuttatikāram* we may continue this question of articulation Avinayaṉār first of all speaks of articulation (*piṟappu*) when the articulation becomes perceptible as producing sounds capable of being used as speech sounds. This seems to be the significance of the word *ēṟṟaṉa* in his *sūtra*.[22] The living being, naturally the human being, capable of producing speech sounds, makes an effort to articulate. Therefore speech is a conscious and voluntary act. There must be sufficient capacity there to

19. See Iḷampūraṇar's commentary under TE 12.

20. } Naṉṉūl. *sūtra* 2.
21. } "*eṇpeyar muṟaipiṟap puruva māttirai*
mutalī ṟiṭainilai pōli yeṉṟā
patampuṇar peṇappaṉ ṉiruppāṟ ṟatuvē"

22. "*āṟṟa luṭaiyuyir muyaṟciyi ṉaṇuviyain*
tēṟṟaṉa voliyāyt tōṟṟutal piṟappē"
Naṉṉūl, May. p. 73

produce the audible pitch and loudness. The Jains believe in atoms of sound producing sound by coming together. This molecule of *śabda* is described by Pavaṇanti as *aṇuttiraḷ* which is much more specific in its reference to the Jain philosophy than the explanation *aṇu iyaintu* given by Avinayaṉār in the same context. (See the *sūtra* given below) The Jain theory of sound is explained by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar in his thesis entitled "Tamil Sounds"[23]. This is the *sūtra* of Avinayam quoted by Mayilainātar when commenting upon Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 19:

> "*āṟṟa luṭai-y-uyir muyaṟci-yi ṉaṇu-v-iyain*
> *teṟṟaṉa-v-oli-y-āyt tōṟṟutal piṟappē*"

This reference to *aṇu* is not found in Tolkāppiyam and therefore Pavaṇanti is following the exposition given in Avinayam.

The *sūtra* about articulation which is already referred to is this:

> "*mutal iṭai nuṉi nā-p-pallitaḻ mūkkiṉ*
> *vaṉmai mutalā mummaiyum piṟakkum*"[24]

This refers to the articulation of consonants. Here he states that the tongue, the teeth, the lips and the nose are involved, probably by their action, in the articulation of consonants. The tongue is divided into three parts from the root to the tip of the tongue viz., the first portion or the back portion, the central portion and the front portion or blade. If he is referring to articulators, *mūkku* must refer to the velum.

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23. Meenakshisundaranar, T. P., "*Tamil Sounds*" an unpublished M.O.L. thesis submitted to the University of Madras.
24. YV p. 69

Avinayaṉār might not have meant all the above descriptions; but this is given only in explanation of his statement so that it could be understood in terms of modern phonetics. It is unfortunate that we do not have the specific *sūtras* which may throw light on the articulation of /ṟ/,/ḻ/ etc.

1. 1. 6 *Cārpeḻuttu* (SECONDARY SOUNDS)

The next problem dealt with by Mayilainātar is the distinction made between *mutal eḻuttu* and *cārpeḻuttu* by Tolkāppiyar.[25] Naṉṉūl speaks of ten kinds of *cārpeḻuttu*[26] as against the three mentioned by Tolkāppiyar.[27] Naṉṉūl adds the following seven *cārpeḻuttus* viz., *uyirmey* 'syllabic letter', *uyiraḷapu* 'lengthened vowel', *oṟṟaḷapu* 'lengthened consonant', *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam* 'the shortened /ai/, *aukāra-k-kuṟukkam* 'the shortened /au/, *makara-k-kuṟukkam* 'the shortened /m/ and *āyta-k-kuṟukkam* 'the shortened ஃ' to the three mentioned by Tolkāppiyar viz., the shorter /i/, the shorter /u/ and *āytam*. Of these seven though Tolkāppiyar does not mention *uyiraḷapu* and *uyirmey* as *cārpeḻuttu* he does discuss them.[28] Therefore Mayilainātar poses the question as to wherefrom Pavaṇanti got the inspiration for recognising the remaining five *cārpeḻuttus*.[29] As far as *oṟṟaḷapu* is concerned it is Avinayaṉār who speaks of *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* in the following *sūtra*:

" *vaṉmai-y-oṭu raஃkāṉ ḷaஃkāṉ oḻintāṅ*
kaṉmey-y-āytamō ṭaḷapeḷu morōvaḻi "[30]

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25. Naṉṉūl May. p. 23
26. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 5
27. TE *sūtras* 1 and 2
28. TE *sūtras* 6 and 17 respectively.
29. Naṉṉūl, May. P. 23 "*oṟṟaḷapeṭai-y-um* ....
yāṇṭu-p-peṟṟāmōveṉiṉ ...
30. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 23

This must have inspired Pavaṇanti to write the following *sūtra* on *oṟṟaḷapeṭai.*

" ṅañaṇa namaṉa vayalaḷa-v-āytam
aḷapāṅ kuṟiliṇai kuṟiṟkīḻ iṭaikaṭai
mikalē-y-avaṟṟiṉ kuṟiyām vēṟē "[31]

From the wordings used by Pavaṇanti it seems that he follows the following *sūtra* quoted in YV.

" ṅañaṇa namaṉa vayalaḷa-v-āytam.
iriṭat taḷapeḻu morō vaḻi-y-āṉa"[32]

Therefore it is necessary to consider other works as well for defining the sources of Naṉṉūl.

1.1.61 *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam* and *aukāra-k-kuṟukkam*: As far as *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam* and *aukāra-k-kuṟukkam* are concerned Mayilainātar refers to a *sūtra* of Avinayam[33] which is also quoted in YV[34] and YK[35].

"aḷapeṭai taṉi-y-iraṇ ṭalvaḻi-y- ai-y- au
uḷatā- moṉṟarai taṉimai-y-u mākum"

One may easily feel that this must have inspired Pavaṇanti to write

"taṟcuṭ ṭaḷapoḻi-y- aimmū vaḻiyum
naiyu mau-v-u mutalaṟ ṟākum"[36]

1.1.611 Interpretation of the term *aḷapu*: Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, a commentator of Naṉṉūl interprets the term *aḷapu* in the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* quoted above, not as *aḷapeṭai* but

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31. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 37
32. YV p. 37
33. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 23
34. YV p. 29
35. YK p. 16
36. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 40

only as referring to "quantity".[37] But this is a later thought built on the theory that any reference to *aḷapeṭai* is redundant in this context.

It will be seen that Pavaṇanti does not assign one and a half *māttirai* for the shortened /*ai*/ and /*au*/ which is necessary for metrical purposes in the initial position of a foot. It is not clear why Pavaṇanti omitted this in spite of Avinayaṉār's specific statement.

There is also another difference; while Pavaṇanti restricts the occurrence of /*au*/ to the initial position of a word[38] Avinayaṉār does not so restrict perhaps because of the use of Tamilised Sanskrit words elsewhere.[39] It looks as though after Oṭṭakkūttar the Tamil language has developed a tendency more true to its genius, perhaps, under the inspiration of Cēkkiḻār. That is why Pavaṇanti coming under Cēkkiḻar's influence does not think of /*au*/ occurring anywhere except in the initial position.

1.1.62 *makara-k-kuṟukkam*: *makara-k-kuṟukkam* is spoken of at least in two places in Tolkāppiyam[40] and its specific symbol is also mentioned in another *sūtra*.[41] Mayilaiṉātar answers the question which he posed by stating that Pavaṇanti must have got the inspiration from Avinayam to add *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*, *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam*, *aukāra-k-kuṟukkam*,

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37. Naṉṉūl. CN. p. 49
38. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 40
39. See ref. given in footnote 26
40. TE *sūtras* (13) 52 and 330
41. TE *sūtra* 14

makara-k-kuṟukkam, and *āyta-k-kuṟukkam.*[42] It is surprising that Mayilainātar should forget the reference in Tolkāppiyam. Should one conclude from this that the *sūtras* in the Tolkāppiyam text and the commentaries found now in the editions and manuscript copies of Iḷampūraṇar's and Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentaries were not there in Tolkāppiyam when Mayilainātar read it? But this cannot be, for, a *sūtra* about *makara-k-kuṟukkam* is found in YV[43] which is certainly much anterior to Naṉṉūl itself. Evidently Mayilainātar has either forgotten or the wording "*makara-k-kuṟukkamum*" which is found in his commentary, was not written by him. This wording must have been included wrongly by the copyist or the student misunderstanding the purpose of the quotation from Avinayam. Mayilainātar must have quoted the *sūtra* in order to refer *āyta-k-kuṟukkam.* The copyist must have thought that it was quoted for proving both *āyta-k-kuṟukkam* and *makara-k-kuṟukkam* because it contains also a reference to *makara-k-kuṟukkam.* According to Mayilainātar Pavaṇanti must have got his inspiration for *āyta-k-kuṟukkam* from the following *sūtra* in Avinayam.

"*patiṉeṇ meyyu matuvē mavvō*
ṭāytamu maḷaparai tēytalu murittē"[44]

("The eighteen consonants have half a *māttirai; m* and *āytam* also sometimes will be shortened and get a quarter of a *māttirai*")

But the specific idea of Naṉṉūl "*laḷavīṟ ṟiyaipi ṉāmāyta*

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42. Naṉṉūl May. p. 23 "...*eṉṟār āciriyar Avinayaṉārum eṉa-k-koḷka*"
43. YV p.30 "*vakaramō ṭiyai-y-iṉ makaramuṅ kuṟukum*"
44. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 23

ma°°°kum"[45] ("The āytam which occurs in sandhi gets shortened") is not found in the Avinayam *sūtra* which is quoted above. Perhaps it is said elesewhere in the same book.

It is important to emphasise the word "*tēytal*" which is found in the Avinayam *sūtra* quoted above. It is this which sorts out the sounds into *mutal* " primary " and *cārpu* "secondary". There is a positional allophonic variation resulting in a reduction of the natural *māttirai* in particular environments. Though Tolkāppiyam speaks of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *kuṟṟiyalikaram* as though emphasising the shortening, the *sūtra* about the articulation of the *cārpeḻuttus* makes it clear that there is something more than this shortening.[46] Tolkāppiyam makes us believe that these *cārpeḻuttus* are articulated along with the sounds with which they can be combined. That is why Tolkāppiyar does not mention *uyirmeyyeḻuttu* "syllabic letter" or *āyta-k-kuṟukkam* "the shortened *āytam*" as a *cārpeḻuttu* which are not mere vowel releases or fricatives of *mutal eḻuttus.* Tolkāppiyar recognises that these *cārpeḻuttus* are positional variants and therefore he deals with them in his *moḻimarapu* (Chapter II) specifying the environment in which these positional variants occur. But when these *cārpeḻuttus* developed into independent sounds, though in some instances they were still positional allophones, the later generation characterised them all as differing from their *mutal* or original pronunciation only in *māttirai.* The very fact that most of them are called

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45. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 42. -*l* / -*ḷ* + [*t*- > °°°. Exx. *kal*+*tītu* > *ka°°°ṟītu*
muḷ+*tītu* *mu°°°ṭītu*

46. TE *sūtra* 101. "*cārntuvari ṉallatu tamakkiyal pila-v-eṉa-t-tērntu veḷippaṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉṟun tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi -y-otta kāṭci-y-iṟ ṟammiyal piyalum*"

kuṟukkams "shortening" led them to conceive the idea of *tēytal* in *uyirmeyyeḻuttu* also. The commentators tell us that when a consonant and a vowel combine into a syllable as *uyirmey*, the *māttirai* of the consonant is lost. Therefore here also there is a change in the *māttirai*. But Naṉṉūl brings under *cārpeḻuttu* not only shortenings but also lengthenings[47] and he is justified in taking all variations whether they are shortenings or lengthenings in quantity. It will be seen that as late as Y, only the three sounds mentioned by Tolkāppiyar were considered as *cārpeḻuttu*.[48] Therefore finding that Pavaṇanti is responsible for this kind of extension of the meaning of *cārpeḻuttu* Mayilainātar justifies Pavaṇanti's stand after posing the question as to where the authority lies for looking upon these variations as having any separate characteristic feature.[49]

We have already mentioned the difficulty created by Mayilainātar's commentary in tracing the concept of *makara-k-kuṟukkam* back to Avinayam instead of to Tolkāppiyam. Perhaps the same difficulty arises about *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* "lengthened consonant" though *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam *eḻuttatikāram*. But it is mentioned in Tolkāppiyam

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47. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 6
48. Y *sūtra* 2 and YV p. 25. "*cārpiṟṟōṉṟun taṉmaiya*".
49. Naṉṉūl, May. p.23. "*eṉṉai? 'eḻutteṉappaṭupa akara mutal ṉakara iṟuvāy muppa°°teṉpa cārntuvaraṉ marapiṉ mūṉṟalaṅ kaṭaiyē' eṉa āciriyar Tolkāppiyaṉārum ivvāṟu mutal cārpeṉa vakuttu-k-koṇṭāreṉka. a°°tē, avar cārpeḻutteṉa mūṉṟē koṇṭārālō-v-eṉiṉ, a°°tē, naṉṟu coṉṉāy oḻintavai eppāṟpaṭumeṉṟāṟku mūṉṟāvatōr pakuti collalāvatiṉmai-y-āṉum mutal-eḻuttāṉ taṉmai avaṟṟiṟkiṉmai-y-āṉum cārpiṟṟōṉṟu-talāṉum ippattum cārpākavē koḷḷavēṇṭumeṉpatu*".

ceyyuḷiyal "chapter on prosody".[50] But this *sūtra* is not referred to in YV. As a matter of fact, a *sūtra* quoted in YV shows that Tolkāppiyar does not admit *āytam* as capable of occurring in *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* whilst according to Avinayaṉār and others it can. See the following:-

"*āytamu moṟṟeṉa-p-peṟṟu acai-y-ākkumeṉṟu*
ōtiṉā ruḷarā kavu moṇṭamiḻ
nātarāyavar nānali pōcai-y-iṟ
kētu -v-eṉṟeṭu-t- tōtiṉā reṉpavē"[51]

The compound *oṇṭamiḻ nātar* probably refers to Tolkāppiyar. There is also a *sūtra* by Avinayaṉār quoted in Y[52] "*aḷapeḻiṉ allatai āytamum oṟṟum alak-iyal p-eytā-v-eṉmaṉār pulavar*" ("Only the lengthened form of *āytam* and consonants are considered for metrical purposes and not the forms without length"). Can it be that some of the *sūtras* now found in Tolkāppiyam are later day additions? In any case there is the reference not only to *aḷapeṭai* in the prosody section of Avinayam but also to *āytam* in its *kaṇakkiyal*. Avinayaṉār lists the following synonyms of *āytam*:

"*a°°kēṉa m-āytan taṉinilai puḷḷi*
-y-oṟṟi-p- pāla -v-aintu m-itaṟkē"[53]

Naṉṉūl uses the terms *āytam*,[54] *taṉinilai*[55], *āyta-p-puḷḷi*[56] for *āytam*.

1.1.63 Definition of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *kuṟṟiyalikaram*: According to Avinayaṉār *kuṟṟiyalukaram* occurs

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50. Tolkāppiyam *ceyyuḷiyal sūtra* 18. "*oṟṟaḷapeṭuppiṉum aṟṟeṉa moḻipa*".
51. YV p. 39.
52. Y p. 37
53. YV p. 28 and YK. p. 28
54. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 5
55. Ibid 5
56. Ibid 35

along with the six plosives in seven environments.[57] But no *sūtra* is available to explain these seven environments from Avinayam. However we find a *sūtra* quoted in YV[58] that can be probably attributed to Palkāyaṉār[59] which enumerates all these seven environments based on metrical syllables. (for detailed discussion about this see the chapter on Y and YK). Avinayaṉār states that *kuṟṟiyalukaram* has half a *māttirai*.[60] With reference to *kuṟṟiyalukaram* Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam.

About *kuṟṟiyalikaram* Avinayaṉār states that it occurs when the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* combines with *y*-[61]. Thus we get a *kuṟṟiyalikaram* in sandhi. According to Tolkāppiyar two kinds of *kuṟṟiyalikaram* are possible viz., (1) that which occurs in a single morpheme or word and (2) that which occurs in sandhi[62]. YV points out the shorter / *i* / occurring in the morpheme *-miyā* and quotes Tolkāppiyam as the authority for this.[63] Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam and YV in this respect.

1.1.7 TOTAL NUMBER OF LETTERS

Tolkāppiyar gives the total for *kuṟil*, *neṭil*, *uyir* and *mutal* sounds.[64] (=short vowels, long vowels, vowels and primary

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57. YV p. 27 " *valleḻut t-āṟō ṭeḻuvakai -y-iṭattu*
m-ukara m-arai-y-ām yakaramō ṭ-iyai-y-iṉ
ikaramuṅ kuṟuku m-eṉmaṉār pulavar"
58. YV p. 26
59. A grammarian lived before tenth century A.D.
60. See ref. 57
61. Ibid
62. TE *sūtras* 34 and 35
63. YV. p. 27
64. TE *sūtras* 3, 4 and 1 respectively.

sounds respectively). Perhaps Avinayaṉār also followed Tolkāppiyar. One *sūtra* at least coming from Avinayam justifies this conclusion.

"*a i u e o-v-ivai kuṟiya maṟṟai*
-y-ēḻ-neṭ ṭ-eḻuttā nēra-p- paṭumē"[65]

Pavaṇanti however gives the number of different occurrences of the *cārpeḻuttu* also in the *sūtra* which begins with "*uyirmey iraṭṭu*.... Though we do not have any *sūtra* in Avinayam going to this extent, there are at least two *sūtras* available which more or less seem to be on the lines of Pavaṇanti though not on all fours with his *sūtra*.

"*kuṟṟeḻut tut-toṇ ṇūṟṟain tākum*
nūṟṟoṭu muppattu mūṉṟu neṭil"[66]

("The short vowels are ninetyfive in number; and the long vowels are one hundred and thirty three in number")

"*irunūṟ ṟ-irupat teṭṭu-virin taṉa-v-uyirē*
vaṉmai meṉmai -y-iṭaimai -y-eṉpa" [67]

("The vowels (including *uyirmey*) are two hundred and twenty eight in number and they are called *vaṉmai* 'hard sounds', *meṉmai* 'soft sounds' and *iṭaimai* 'middle sounds' ")

Naṉṉūl however does not give the total for short *uyirmey* and long *uyirmey* seperately though the substance of Avinayam *sūtra* is given. But here also there is a difference. Since Pavaṇanti does not include *uyirmey* letters under *uyir* (as is done by Avinayam) he gives the total number as 216[68] whereas according to Avinayam it is 228.

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65. YV p. 22
66. Ibid
67. Ibid
68. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 6

1.1.8 VARIANTS OF /ai/, /au/ AND *āytam*

Tolkāppiyar speaks *a+i* becoming *ai* and *a+y* becoming *ai*;[69] He also states that *a+u* becoming *au*.[70] But he does not say, however, anything about *a+v* becoming *au*. But in the *Caṅkam* literature we have /au/ being written as *a+v*[71]. Perhaps Tolkāppiyar had not known this development. But Avinayam notes this fully well. In YV we see the alternant written forms *a-u-vai*, *na-u-vi* for *avvai* and *navvi*.[72] Therefore Tolkāppiyar's system also seems to have been continuing in free variation with the other system of writing these sounds. The following two *sūtras* from Avinayam will illustrate this.

"*āytamum yavvu m-avvoṭu varin̠ē*
ai-y-en̠ eḻuttoṭu meypeṟa-t- tōn̠ṟum"[73]

("The sequences of *a+*.: and *a+y* are considered to be equivalent to *ai*")

"*uvvoṭu vavvarin̠ au-v-iyal p-ākum*"[74]

("The sequences of *a+u* and *a+v* are considered to be equivalent to *au*")

The *sūtra* corresponding to these two in Nan̠n̠ūl is as follows:

"*ammu n̠-ikaram yakara m-en̠ṟ-ivai*
eyti n̠-ai-y-ot t-icaikku m-avvō
ṭ-uvvum vavvu mau-v-ō r-an̠n̠a"[75]

This Nan̠n̠ūl *sūtra* seems to be based on Tolkāppiyam as far as

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69. TE *sūtras* 54, 56
70. TE *sūtra* 55
71. For example *navvi* in *Puṟanān̠ūṟu* verse no. 2
72. YV p. 30; *avvai* "old woman"; *navvi* "hind"
73. Ibid
74. YV p. 30
75. Nan̠n̠ūl *sūtra* 70

/*ai*/ is concerned and on Avinayam as far as /*au*/ is concerned. Neither Avinayaṉār nor any later day writer had understood the Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* "*ikara yakara miṟuti viravum*"[76] as pointing out that in the final position the vowel / *i* / and the semi-vowel / *y* / alternate, a rule which alone will explain how the past tense sign / *i* / occurs as / *y* / in forms like *pōy* and *āy*.

Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar however points out a new reading for the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* according to which the *sūtra* will read as "*ammu ṉ-ikara m-āyta m-eṉṟivai-y-eytiṉ......*".[77] If this was the original reading Naṉṉūl must have followed Avinayam and the present reading must be due to the people not knowing anything of this usage explained by Avinayaṉār and therefore they altered the original reading on the basis of their own understanding of Tolkāppiyam. The examples for the Avinayam *sūtra* are given as follows in YV.[78] 1. *aiyaṉ~ayyaṉ*; 2. *ka°°cu~kaicu. ka°°cu* occurs as *kaicu* in the inscriptions of the *Cola* age. We have in *Nammāḻvār's* songs and in *Peruṅkatai* /*y*/ rhyming with *āytam*. This usage disappeared and probably that is why the later day writers altered the original reading in Naṉṉūl.

1. 1. 9 DISTRIBUTION OF THE VELAR NASAL

With reference to the distribution of the velar nasal Tolkāppiyar does not specifically say in *moḻimarapu* that it does not occur in the initial position. On the basis of

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76. TE *sūtra* 58
77. See footnote on p. 52 in Naṉṉūl Ed. by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, 1918.
78. YV. p. 30

"*eñciya-v-ellām eñcutal ilavē*" ("All the remaining are not prevented from occurring") one would be justified in arguing that /ñ/ can occur not only initially but also finally. But that will be absurd. If we understand the scheme of Tolkāppiyam certain *sūtra* about / ṅ / seems to be missing. There is another evidence to show that he does not contemplate the initial occurrence of /ṅ/. In *sūtra* 29 he states thus: *mutalā k-eḻuttu ṅakaramoṭu tōṉṟum*". If he were of the opinion that / ṅ / could occur initially he need not have mentioned *ṅakaramoṭu*, for, otherwise it will be included in the class *mutalākeḻuttu* 'initial letters'. It must be Avinayaṉār's *sūtra* which inspired Pavaṇanti to speak of / ṅ / as occurring initially since it is Avinayaṉār who admits that / ṅ / can occur initially.[79] Naṉṉūl follows Avinayaṉār in this respect but it strictly defines the occurrence of initial / ṅ / as coming only after the demonstrative / a /, / i /, / u / and interrogative / yā / and / e / and only when followed by the vowel / a /.[80] It is because of this Caṅkaranamaccivāyar speaks of Naṉṉūl as partially accepting and partially refuting (*uṭampaṭalum maṟuttalum*) the view about the initial occurrence of / ṅ /.[81]

1.1.10 Other *sūtras*: There are other quotations which may be subjected to be from Avinayam. They are as follows :

1. *māttirai vakai-y-āṟ ṟaḷai-tapa keṭā-nilai*
   yāppaḻi -y-āmai-niṉ ṟ-aḷapeṭai vēṇṭum[82]

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79. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 43
    "*kacatapa ṅavvē-y- ātiyu miṭai-y-um*
    ṭaṟa-v-iṭai ṇaṉaraḻa laḷa iṭai kaṭai-y-ē
    ñanamaya vavvē mūṉṟiṭa meṉpa"
80. Naṉṉūl, 51
81. Naṉṉūl, CN p. 55
82. YV p. 22

2. *uyiraḷa peṭai-y-um-or̲r̲uḷa peṭai-y-um-en̲*
r̲āyiraṇ ṭen̲pā -v-āḷapeṭai tān̲ē[83]

(The above two *sūtras* are explained in the chapter on Y and YK in this book)

3. *kur̲umai -y-eḻutti n̲-aḷavē -y-aikārà*
neṭumai-y-i n̲iṅkiya-k kāl[84]

(This *sūtra* is explained in the chapter on Nēminātam and Nan̲n̲ūl)

There are other quotations which may be subjected to be from Avinaya-p-pur̲anaṭai. They are as follows:

1. *akara mutalāka āytam iṭai-y-ā*
n̲akaram-ī r̲-āku-mutal vaippu[85]

(This is explained under " Commentary on Nēminātam " in this book)

2. *eḻuttu-k kur̲iyiṭa māttirai nān̲kum*
vaḻukkātu vaikka vakuttu[86]

(This is explained in the chapter on Mayilainātar's commentary on Nan̲n̲ūl)

1.1.9 DEFINITION OF "WORD" (*col*)

Mayilainātar quotes a *sūtra* differentiating a word (*col*) from a letter. Since it is written in *veṇpā* metre it seems to be from *Avinaya-p-pur̲anaṭai* perhaps occurring at the end of an *iyal* or chapter. This is the *sūtra*:—

83. YV p. 27
84. Nēminātam p. 11
85. Ibid p. 5
86. Nan̲n̲ūl, May. p. 37

taṉṉai-y- uṇarttiṉ eḻuttām piṟaporuḷai-c
cuṭṭutaṟ kaṇṇē-y-āñ col[87]

If there is a monosyllabic letter (of the pattern (C)V̌) which can also be considered as a *col* then the question arises as to when it has to be taken as a *col* and when it has to be taken as a letter. Avinayaṉār states that if the concerned syllable refers to itself i.e. where it is not a symbol for something else, it is a letter; if it denotes something else i.e. if it is a "meaning vehicle" as a symbol for something else, it is a word. Avinayaṉār uses the term *cuṭṭu* for implying this conception of "meaning vehicle". Naṉṉūl on the other hand uses *poruḷ tariṉ*[88] "give or have a meaning". This Avinayam *sūtra* is liable to be mistaken as explaining only monosyllables. It has to be noted that only in the monosyllables this confusion is prominent. Naṉṉūl however explains this by taking into account both the single as well as the combination of letters. According to Naṉṉūl if letters, single or in combination, give a meaning they have to be considered as *patam*; but if they refer to nothing else but themselves then they are letters.[89] Here we get a definition of a *patam* from the phonological point of view, i.e. that they are formed of single or combined letters. But the pre-eminent definition is of the semantic word and that it, as a unit, has a meaning. The following *sūtra* in Naṉṉūl is certainly inspired by Avinayam.

eḻuttē taṉittum toṭarntum poruḷ
tariṉ patamām ....[90]

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87. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 54

88.–90. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 73

1.2. YĀPPARUṄKALAM, YĀPPARUṄKALA-K-KĀRIKAI AND NAṈṈŪL

1.2.1 A COMPARISON OF OLD *sūtras* WITH *Naṉṉūl*

1.2.11 Author of Y and YK: Apart from Avinayaṉār there have been other grammarians also some of whom were contemporary to Avinayaṉār and others were either anterior or posterior to him. Y with its companion YK forms a landmark in the history of Tamil studies. Y is written in *āciriyam* metre and YK is written in *kaṭṭaḷai-k-kalitturai*. The latter is probably intended as an elementary introduction to Y. This may be the meaning of what the old commentary on YK writes as *Yāpparuṅkalam eṉṉum yāppiṟku aṅkamāy... ceyya-p-paṭṭamaiyāl yāpparuṅkala-k-kārikai eṉṉum peyarttu.*[1] According to the commentator the author of YK is Amitacākarar. The commentator of Y in his commentary on *sūtra* refers to the verse No. 38 in YK and states that the YK verse is by the author of Y. Therefore it is clear that both the works are from the pen of Amitacākarar.

The commentator of Vīracōḻiyam quotes a *sūtra* from Y[2] and in his commentary on verse No. 179 he mentions that the author of the quotation is Amirtacākaraṉār.[3] Though the

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1. YK p. 2
2. Y *sūtra* 96
3. Vīracōḻiyam p. 268

name is sometimes given as Amutacākaraṉār,[4] the *ciṟappu-p-pāyiram*[5] of Y refers to him as *aḷapparuṅ-kaṭaṟpeyar arunta-vattōṉē* "a great saint with the name limitless ocean" which will give us only the form Amitacākarar. The same *ciṟappu-p-pāyiram* states also : *kuṇa-k-kaṭaṟ peyarōṉ koḷkai-y-iṉ vaḻā....* *aḷapparuṅkaṭaṟpeyar aruntavaıtōṉē.* "a great saint with the name limitless ocean who truly followed the principles of Kuṇacākarar". One can infer from this that Amitacākarar is a disciple of Kuṇacākarar, great for expounding the views of his Master.

The commentator of YK also goes by the name of Kuṇacākarar. It is not clear whether this commentator is the same or different from the Master referred to above.

1.2.12 Age of *Amitacākarar* : The inscriptions of the age of Rājēndra, the great, refer to a place in the Chinglepet district as *Kārikai-k-kuḷattūr*, a *Kuḷattur* which was probably gifted away to Amitacākarar in honour of his having composed YK.[6] Therefore the author must belong to a previous generation, perhaps the tenth century.

1.2.13 Author of the commentary on Y : The name of the author of the commentary on Y is not known. But probably he was one who belongs to the school of *Mahēś-wara* whom he praises almost every time he quotes *Mayēccurar*

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4. Vīracōḻiyam p. 166
5. YV p. 1
6. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII pp. 64–69; M.E.R. 140, 1912; M.E.R. No. 534, 1921; S.I.I. p. 188 etc.

Yāppu,[7] the work of that great authority. Probably this commentator realising the popularity of Y took the opportunity of writing a commentary on that popular work so as to point out the similarity with his own school of thought which had harmonised the earlier conflicting schools of thought on prosody. This commentary is really an encyclopaedia on Tamil prosody. Its importance consists in its being the only source for getting information about the works on prosody which were popular in Tamil land before Amitacākarar wrote his classical work. Therefore one may not be too far wrong if one fixes the age of this commentator as not later than the eleventh century.

The commentary on YK however aims only at a clear exposition of the *sūtras* with the help of illustrations and authorities most often taken from Tolkāppiyam. This new attempt of Amitacākarar is shown as in YK being in confirmity to the famous work of Tolkāppiyam though where this work differs from Tolkāppiyam other authorities are shown.

1.2.14 Reference to an old commentary on *Tolkāppiyam* : There is no reference in YV, the commentary on Y, to any of the known commentators of Tolkāppiyam even of Iḷampūraṇar. The grammatical explanation of the term *eṉmaṉār*[8] reminds us of the explanation given by Iḷampūraṇar for the same form occuring in the first *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam

7. See for example "*nīr malinta vār caṭaiyōṉ pēr makiḻnta pērāciriyar*" ("pērāciriyar who gloried with the name of *Śiva*, who had the Ganges on his matted hair") YV p. 110

8. YV p. 107

collatikāram. But the same explanation is also given by Nakkīrar, the commentator of Iṟaiyaṉārakapporuḷ, in his commentary on the first *sūtra* therein.

However YV refers to a commentary which is stated as *virutti*[9]. YV actually refers to the commentary on Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* "*arai-y-aḷapu kuṟukaṉ makaram uṭaittē*"[10]. But YV does not accept this view of this *virutti* that Tolkāppiyar has left the specific environment for makara-k-kuṟukkam to be understood by the commentary and points out that Tolkāppiyam specifically refers to the environment further down in its *sūtra* "*vakāra micai-y-u makāraṅ kuṟukum*". Does YV refer to a *virutti* "elaborate commentary" on Tolkāppiyam when it writes thus : "*viruttiyuḷ viḷaṅka-k-kūṟiṉār*?"[11] There might have been a commentary in that age but that should be something different from those commentaries available to us. Or it may simply mean that Tolkāppiyam left the specification to be made clearer in any elaborate explanation of the *sūtra* to be understood by the student and that the *sūtra* referred to in the *virutti urai* on Tolkāppiyam was probably not there originally in Tolkāppiyam. All these facts however show that the commentary on Tolkāppiyam referred to is probably nearer to the age of Amitacākarar.

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9. YV p. 69
10. TE *sūtra* 13
11. YV p. 69
    "*arai-y-aḷavu kuṟukaṉ makaram uṭaittē eṉa-t-Tolkāppiyattu iṉṉa-v-iṭattu-k- kuṟukum eṉṟu yāppuṟuttu-k-kūṟiṟṟilarēṉum utti-y-ai-p-paṟṟi vakarattiṉ piṉ makaram kuṟukum eṉṟuviruttiyuḷ viḷaṅka-k-kūṟiṉār*"

1.2.15 Old books, authors quoted in YV

Though YV is a work on prosody it starts by defining the various kinds of speech sounds going to form a metrical syllable besides enumerating the constituents of a verse viz., lines, feet and metrical syllable. This commentary therefore throws light on some of the discussions on the speech sounds in Tamil. It is from this point of view that this *virutti* has quoted most of the *sūtras* from Avinayam which we have discussed earlier.

It will be worthwhile considering other authors, quoted by this *virutti*. The authors other than Avinayaṉār are the following.

1.2.151 *Caṅkayāppu*

1.2.1511 Enumeration: A *sūtra* from Caṅkayāppu enumerates the vowels as follows:- "The twelve sounds from /a/ to /au/ are vowels"[12] *icai-y-oṭu puṇarnta* is the epithet used to the (twelve) vowels. It means 'those which have got *icai*' or probably 'those which are voiced'. Another *sūtra* states that "the eighteen sounds starting from /k/ to /ṉ/ are called consonants".[13] Caṅkayāppu thus mentions the first and the last in the list of sounds in each case.

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12. YV. p. 21

"*akara mutalā aukāra miṟā*
-y-icai-y-oṭu puṇarnta-v-i rāṟu m-uyirē"

13. YV. p. 21

" *kakara mutalā ṉakara miṟā*
-v-ivai-y-i roṉpatu meyyeṉa moḻipa"

In both these cases Tolkāppiyam mentions only the last sounds viz., /au/ and /ṉ/[14] without mentioning the first sounds viz., /a/ or /k/. Naṉṉūl however mentions the beginning sounds /a/ and /k/ and not the final sounds.[15]

1.2.1512 *kuṟil* **and** *neṭil*: Two *sūtras* in Caṅkayāppu refer to *kuṟil* "short" and *neṭil* "long" sounds and enumerate them.[16] In addition to the enumeration Tolkāppiyam gives the māttirai also.[17] Naṉṉūl stops with the enumeration of the short and long vowels.[18] (Of course in a separate *sūtra* Naṉṉūl gives māttirai for these sounds.)

Tolkāppiyam and Caṅkayāppu give longer *sūtras* with metrical elaborations. The Naṉṉūl *sūtras* dealing with these sounds are of no more than a line each.

1.2.1513 *māttirai*: The *sūtra* on māttirai or quantity in Caṅkayāppu defines it, just like Tolkāppiyam does, in terms of the winking of the eye (*kaṇṇimai*) and the snapping of the fingers (*kainoṭi*)[19]. Tolkāppiyam[20] and Naṉṉūl[21] use

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14. TE *sūtras* 8 and 9 "*aukāra-v-iṟuvāy...*" and "*ṉakāra-v-iṟuvāy ...*"
15. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 8 "*ammuta lirāṟāvi kammutal meym-mū-v-āṟu...*"
16. YV. p. 22 "*kuṟilō raintu maṟivuṟa-k-kiḷappiṉ*
    a i u e o-v-eṉṉu mivai-y-ē"
    "*ā ī ū ē ō ai ō au -v-eṉṉum*
    ēḻu neṭṭeḻut teṉṟa liyalpē"
17. TE *sūtras* 3 and 4
18. Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 9 and 10
19. YV. p. 24. "*kaṇṇimai kainoṭi -y-eṉṟivai -y-iraṇṭu*
    miṉṉaṭai -y-aḷavē -y-eḻuttiṉ māttirai"
20. TE *sūtra* 7
21. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 45
    "*iyalpeḻu māṇta r-imainoṭi māttirai*"

the word *noṭi* alone but Caṅkayāppu expands it to *kainoṭi.* Instead of saying *kaṇṇimai* Naṉṉūl is satisfied with *imai* "eyelid". It however, adds the important qualification that these snapping and winking should be natural with men.[22] Here also Naṉṉūl *sūtra* is only one line long whereas the *sūtras* of the other two contain two lines each.

With reference to māttirai there is only one *sūtra* available in Caṅkayāppu which prescribes half a māttirai for the consonants.[23] Tolkāppiyam also mentions this in a *sūtra.* As it is usual with Tolkāppiyam it states that this usage has been accepted by the elders.[24] The word *aḷapu* (māttirai) has by the time of Caṅkayāppu assumed the form *aḷavu* thanks to a sound change (VpV >VvV; V = Vowel). Tolkāppiyam speaks of *arai*-(*aḷapu*) whilst Caṅkayāppu speaks of *arai noṭi aḷavu.*[25] This latter restriction is unnecessary because māttirai has already been defined with reference to *noṭi.* As it is not possible to describe the fractions of a māttirai in terms of winking, the later generation tried to explain the fractions in terms of snapping. Half a māttirai is therefore described by Caṅkayāppu as the duration of the two fingers coming together before they are snapped.[26] Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam in this respect and as is usual with it, it mentions the māttirai for consonants in almost one *cīr* (metrical foot) of a line.[27]

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22. See foot-note 21
23. YV. P. 25 "*arai noṭi-y-aḷaviṉa-v-aṟumū-v-uṭampē*"
24. TE *sūtra* 11 "*meyyiṉ aḷapē-y-arai-y-eṉa moḻipa*"
25. See foot-note 23 above.
26. YV. p. 25 " *arai noṭi-y-eṉpa tiyāteṉa moḻiyiṉ noṭitara-k-kūṭiya-v-iruvira-l-iyalpē.*"
27. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 44 "*.... ..arai-y-oṟṟu......*"

There is a *sūtra* quoted in the commentary on YK which explains further the fractions of the māttirai from this point of view. " To think of snapping amounts to one fourth of a māttirai, the bringing together of the fingers amounts to half, the twisting of the fingers amounts to threefourth and the separation of the fingers which are left free amounts to one māttirai " [28]

1.2.1514 Classification of consonants : The consonants are divided into three categories viz., the hard, the soft and the middle i.e. in modern terms the plosives, the nasals and the semi-vowels respectively. Caṅkayāppu uses the names for the abstract qualities viz., *vaṉmai, meṉmai* and *iṭaimai.*[29] Tolkāppiyam uses the compounds viz., *valleḻuttu* "hard sounds" *melleḻuttu* " soft sounds " and *iṭai-y-eḻuttu* " sounds which are neither hard nor soft".[30] Both these treatises use the term *eṉpa*[31] "those which are said by the elders or the books". Naṉṉūl uses the compounds *valliṉam*[32] and *vallāṟu*[33] (*iṉam* " a class or series ") as well as the qualities *vaṉmai,*[34] *meṉmai,*[35] *iṭaimai* [36] etc., in different *sūtras*. All the three

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28. YK. p. 19 "*uṉṉal kālē-y-ūṉṟa l-araiyē*
muṟukkal mukkāl viṭutta l-oṉṟē "
29. YV. p. 24 "*vaṉmai-y- eṉpa kacaṭa tapaṟa*"
"*meṉmai-y- eṉpa ṅañaṇa namaṉa*"
"*iṭaimai-y- eṉpa yarala vaḻaḷa*"
30. TE *sūtras* 19, 20 and 21.
31. See foot-notes 29 and 30.
32. Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 20 and 39.
33. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 35 (Quotation from Tolkāppiyam.)
34. 35. 36. } Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 20

treatises enumerate the sounds. In addition Naṉṉūl mentions the total number under each category as is done in its *sūtra* on *kuṟil.*[37]

1.2.1515 Written forms of consonants etc.: Coming to describe the consonants Caṅkayāppu refers to the *puḷḷi* "dot" characterising the written form of consonants.[38] This is also stated in Tolkāppiyam.[39] Caṅkayāppu further states that Tolkāppiyam refers specifically to *kuṟṟiyalukaram* receiving a *puḷḷi*[40] like the consonant though Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Iḷampūraṇar interpret this in a different way. Tolkāppiyam however is interpreted by some as referring to *āytam*, *kuṟṟiya-lukaram* and *kuṟṟiyalikaram* as three sounds characterised by *puḷḷi.*[41]

Naṉṉūl states that the short vowels /e/ and /o/ take a *puḷḷi* "dot" like the consonants.[42] However, there is no reference found in this treatise to *kuṟṟiyalukaram*, *kuṟṟiya-likaram* and *āytam* charaterized with a *puḷḷi.*

1.2.1516 Syllabic letters: Another *sūtra* from Caṅkayāppu refers to the consonant form without the *puḷḷi*

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37. Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 13, 14 and 15.
38. YV. p. 24 "*avaitām*
    puḷḷi-y-oṭu niṟṟa l-iyalpeṉa moḻipa
    puḷḷi-y-il kālai- y-uyirmey y-ākum"
39. TE *sūtra* 15
40. TE *sūtras* 104 and 105.
41. Civañāṉamuṉivar and others. The phrase *muppāṟ-puḷḷi* is interpreted as "the three sounds characteris-ed by dots" by these commentators.
42. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 43

becoming *uyirmey* or syllabic letter.[43] The syllabic letters are described in detail in Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl follows it.

1.2.16 *Palkāyam*

1.2.161 Enumeration: Palkāyam is another work from which YV quotes. In one of the *sūtras* quoted the total number of vowels and consonants are given without any further description or enumeration.[44] The eighteen consonants become syllabic letters by the addition of any one of the twelve vowels; the resulting combination gives their total number as two hundred and sixteen. This number separately given for syllabic letters alone in Tamil is found in Naṉṉūl as *iraṭṭu nūṟṟeṭṭu*.[45] From the evidence now available one can conclude that Naṉṉūl follows here Palkāyam though the real inspiration comes from Avinayam as it has already been pointed out.

1.2.162 *māttirai*: The māttirais for the short, long and the extra-long vowels are given separately in Palkāyam in one *sūtra* as one, two and three respectively.[46] Tolkāppiyar gives the māttirais for *kuṟil*, *neṭil*, in the respective *sūtras* themselves

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43. YV. p. 27 "*kuṟṟiya likaramuṅ kuṟṟiya lukaramu*
maṟṟavai tāmē puḷḷi peṟumē"

44. YV. p. 22 "*uyirī r-āṟē meymmū -v-āṟē*
ammū -v-āṟu m-uyirō ṭ-uyirppa
irunūṟ ṟorupat tāṟuyir meyyē"

45. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 6

46. YV. p. 24 "*kuṟiloru māttirai neṭiliru māttirai*
-y-aḷapeṭai mūṉṟeṉ ṟ-aṟaiyal vēṇṭum."

which enumerate the *neṭil* and *kuṟil* sounds.[47] He also definitely states that there is no single sound which is of three māttirais in duration.[48] But in the post-Tolkāppiyam period perhaps due to the knowledge of the Sanskrit *plūta*, extra-long vowels of three māttirais in duration have been accepted and it is this later theory that Naṉṉūl follows. According to its own scheme Naṉṉūl gives the māttirais for all sounds in one *sūtra*.[49].

1.2.163 *kuṟṟiyalukaram*: Palkāyam like Avinayam mentions seven kinds of kuṟṟiyalukaram[50] as against six mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. There is a *sūtra* describing these seven kinds. This is quoted after the Palkāyaṉār's *sūtra* on kuṟṟiyalukaram and the word *eṉṟār* (*ākaliṉ*) "said (He)" following this quotation may be taken to be the predicate of the word (or subject) Palkāyaṉār.[51] There is a difference between the way in which Palkāyaṉār defines it and the way in which Tokāppiyar defines it. Palkāyaṉār defines it in relation to prosody making use of the concept of *nēr acai* and *nirai acai*, the two metrical syllables. Because of this, books on prosody like Y, follow this

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47. TE *sūtras* 3 and 4.
48. TE *sūtra* 5
49. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 44
50. YV. p. 25 "*eḻuvakai -y-iṭattuṅ kuṟṟiya lukaram vaḻuviṉṟi varūum vallā ṟ-ūrntē*"
51. YV. p. 26 "*neṭilē kuṟiliṇai kuṟiṉeṭi l-eṉṟivai -y-oṟṟoṭu varutaloṭu kuṟṟoṟ ṟiṟuti–y–eṉ ṟēḻkuṟ ṟukara-k- kiṭaṉeṉa moḻipa eṉṟār ākaliṉ.*"

definition. But ardent admirers[52] of Tolkāppiyam point out that words like *cuṉṉāmpu* where *-pu* follows CV̌CCV̄C-[53] could not be brought under this definition. Tolkāppiyar on the basis of his division of words into *ōreḻuttoru moḻi*,[54] *īreḻuttoru moḻi*[55] and *iraṇṭiṟanticaikkum toṭarmoḻi*[56] impliedly divides kuṟṟiyalukaram into two classes one occurring after *neṭil* in *īreḻuttoru moḻi* of the pattern [C] V̄ *Pu*[57] and the other occurring in *toṭarmoḻi* of the pattern [C] VC [C] [V] [C] *Pu*[58] where more syllables may precede this pattern. In both the cases, the final *u* should be preceded by a plosive (=P). Kuṟṟiyalukaram in *toṭarmoḻi*, on the basis of the sound preceding the final syllable is classified into five divisions. With reference to kuṟṟiyalukaram Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam.

1.2.164 *kuṟṟiyalikaram*: With reference to *kuṟṟiyalikaram* Palkāyam mentions only that which occurs in *sandhi*.[59] Tolkāppiyam adds that the *-i* in the suffix *-miyā* is also short (*kuṟṟiyalikaram*)[60]. No *sūtra* is available from Palkāyam

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52. Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary under TE *sūtra* 406 "*itaṉai ēḻeṉṟu koḷvārkku-p-piṇṇākku, cuṉṉāmpu, āmaṇakku mutaliyaṉa muṭiyāmai uṇarka*"

53. C=consonant; V̌=short vowel; V̄=long vowel.

54, 55 and 56 =Words of one letter, two letters and of more than two letters respectively.

57 and 58 The symbol [ ] indicates that the consonant is optional.

59. YV. p. 27 "*yakara mutalvari ṉ-ukara m-oḻiya -v-ikaramuṅ kuṟuku m-eṉmaṉār pulavar*"

60. TE *sūtra* 34

corresponding to this. Tolkāppiyam while mentioning the three kinds of *cārpeḻuttu* divides each of them into two categories viz., (1) those occurring in an individual word and (2) those occurring in the *sandhi* of two words. Tolkāppiyar first speaks of the occurrence of *kuṟṟiyalikaram* in the suffix *-miyā*. In the next *sūtra* he simply states that the shortening of /-i-/ also occurs in *sandhi* which he adds will be specified later.[61] This *kuṟṟiyalikaram* occurring in *sandhi* is mentioned in the last chapter of TE.[62] What is explained in three *sūtras* in Tolkāppiyam is summarised by Pavaṇanti in two lines as is usual with him.[63]

1.2.17 *Kaiyaṉār*

1.2.171 Quantity of consonants : Kaiyaṉār is another author quoted in YV. One of the *sūtras* of him refers to the quantity of consonants as follows: *uṟuppiṉ aḷavē oṉṟarai -y-ākum*.[64] The pharse *oṉṟarai* here means "half māttirai each" and not "one and a half māttirai" The name *uṟuppu* refers to consonant. Naṉṉūl as usual has summarised the whole thing in one metrical foot as *arai-y-oṟṟu,*[65] "consonant (has) half a māttirai"

1.2.172 *āytam*: There is another *sūtra* by Kaiyaṉār which defines the environment in which *āytam* occurs. The *sūtra* is as follows: "*āytan tāṉē kuṟiyataṉ kīḻttāy*[66]
valiyataṉ mēl vantiyalum eṉpa".

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61. TE *sūtra* 35
62. TE *sūtra* 410
63. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 38
64. YV. p. 25
65. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 44
66. YV. p. 28

Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra* is this:-

> "*kuṟiyataṉ muṉṉar āyta-p- puḷḷi*
> *uyiroṭu puṇarnta vallāṟaṉ micaittē*".[67]

Kaiyaṉār follows Tolkāppiyam but uses *kīḻ* instead of *muṉṉar* and *mēl* instead of *micai*. Here Naṉṉūl merly quotes from Tolkāppiyam.[68]

1.2.18 ANONYMOUS *sūtras*

1.2.181 Lastly one has to refer to certain old *sūtras* which are found quoted in YV without the names of the authors being given. There are two *sūtras* which define the *uyirmey* or the syllable as a combination of a vowel and a consonant[69]. There is an identity of meaning though there is a difference in phrasing. Tolkāppiyar fixes up two kinds of syllables from the point of view of the script viz., (1) the consonants occurring with /a/ which have the same script form like that of pure consonants, the only difference being that when they are syllabic letters there is no *puḷḷi* and (2) the forms of syllables with other vowels where there are further changes[70]. Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam in this respect[71].

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67. TE *sūtra* 38
68. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 35
69. YV. p. 21 "*uyiru meyyum puṇarnta puṇarcci*
y-uyirmey yeṉṟāṅ kuṇarttiṉar koḷalē"
"*uyiru meyyu m-oruṅkiyain taṉavum*
uyirmey yeṉpa v-uṇarntici nōrē."
70. TE *sūtra* 17
71. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 34

1.2.1811 Two other *sūtras* quoted in YV state that the māttirai for the uyirmey is the same as that of a vowel.[72] The quantity of these syllables is mentioned in Tolkāppiyam not in the *sūtra* which defines uyirmey but in a different *sūtra*.[73] Naṉṉūl in following Tolkāppiyam not only summarises Tolkāppiyar's four lines (defining uyirmey) into two but also mentions in that *sūtra* itself, the quantity of these syllables.[74] The *sūtra* for this in Tolkāppiyam is that "when the vowel is thus combined in a syllable with consonants the characteristic feature of the vowels do not change". This is interpreted to mean that when the vowel combines with a consonant one does not have the duration of the consonant plus the duration of the vowel but only the duration of the vowel alone. This does not seem to be the direct meaning of the *sūtra*. But this is the theory which is expounded in the post-Tolkāppiyam age i.e. the quantity or the māttirai for a syllable is the māttirai of the vowel therein. It is this again that Naṉṉūl states in *sūtra* 34. The phrase *uyiraḷavāy* in Naṉṉūl seems to remind us of the old *sūtras* quoted here (see foot-note 72) because the syllables have only the quantity of the vowels i.e. *uyiriṉaḷapu*.

1.2.182 EXTRA-LONG SOUNDS OR *aḷapeṭai*

1.2.1821 With reference to the extra-long sounds a *sūtra* which is probably from Avinayam mentions that such extra length is necessitated only by metrical exigencies i.e. to

72. YV. p. 21 "*uyiri ṉaḷapē y-aḷapeṉa moḻipa*"
"*uyiri ṉaḷapuyir meyyeṉa moḻipa*
vaḻakkoṭu varūuṅ kālai y-āṉa".

73. TE *sūtra* 10

74. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 34

fill up the metrical deficiency[75]. Nannūl summarises the idea in two words –*icaikeṭiṉ*.[76]

1.2.1822 There is another *sūtra* which may also be from Avinayam which states that this extra–long sounds are of two categories viz., (1) the extra-long vowel and (2) the extra -long syllabic consonant.[77] There is no corresponding *sūtra* either in Tolkāppiyam or in Nannūl.

1.2.1823 The positions in which these extra–long sounds occur are said to be four viz., initial, medial and final in words of more than one syllable and fourthly in mono-syllabic words.[78] Tolkāppiyam has no corresponding *sūtra* for this. Nannūl, however, does not mention the occurrence in monosyllabic words as something different from the other three. It follows Iḷampūraṇar in including it within the other three.

1.2.183 *cārpu* **letters:** Tolkāppiyam has mentioned only three sounds as *cārpu*. *cārntuvaraṉ marapiṉ mūṉṟu* is the phrase used by Tolkāppiyam.[79] There is an old *sūtra* quoted in YV[80] which also mentions only three.

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75. YV. p. 22 "*māttirai vakai–y–āṟ ṟaḷai–tapa keṭānilai*
yāppaḷi yāmai-niṉ ṟ–aḷapeṭai vēṇṭum"
76. Nannūl *sūtra* 36
77. YV. p. 23 "*uyiraḷa peṭaiyu m–oṟṟaḷa peṭaiyum–eṉ*
ṟ–āyiraṇ ṭeṉpa v–aḷapeṭai tāṉē"
78. YV. p. 23 "*taṉinilai mutaṉilai–y–iṭainilai y–iṟ–eṉa*
nālvakai–p– paṭūum–aḷa pāy-varum
iṭaṉē"
79. TE *sūtra* 1
80. YV. p. 25 "*kuṟṟiya likaraṅ kuṟṟiya lukaram*
āyta–p–puḷḷi y–eṉṟivai mūṉṟuñ
cārpiṟ ṟōṟṟat turimaiyi n–uḷavē"

1.2.184. *makara-k-kuṟukkam:* There is one other anonymous *sūtra* which refers to *makara-k-kuṟukkam,* the shortened /m/.[81] Another *sūtra* refers to the shortened /m/ occurring after /v/.[82] This is the only place of its occurrence referred to even in YV. The non-mention of other occurrences after /ṉ/ is significant because in Tolkāppiyam there is a *sūtra* referring to this. Both Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar comment on this *sūtra.* Perhaps this *sūtra* was not there when YV was written. Or this *sūtra* was considered to have mentioned an obsolete usage. Even Vīracōḻiyam does not mention the shortening of /m/ after /ṉ/. But the commentary on Nēmiṉātam quotes a *sūtra* "*ṇaṉaviṉ muṉṉar makaram kuṟukum*"[83] which mentions the shortening of /m/ not only after /ṉ/ but also after the retroflex /ṇ/. Nēmiṉātam does not mention this in the text. But it is the *sūtra* quoted in the comentary which Naṉṉūl follows. Naṉṉūl summarises all the three environments in one *sūtra.*[84]

1.2.2 A COMPARISON OF Y AND YK WITH *Naṉṉūl.*

1.2.21 Introduction: A verse is a constitute of which there are hierarchies of constituents, the lower hierarchy forming a constituent of the next higher hierarchy. The lowest hierarchy for a verse is the *eḻuttu* or sound which is a constituent and never a constitute. A book on prosody has to deal with these constituents, sounds. Therefore Y and YK, the books on prosody, also deal with these elements.

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81. YV. p. 29 "*arai-y-aḷavu kuṟukaṉ makara m-uṭaittē y-icai-y-iṭa ṉ-arukun teriyuṅ kālai*"
82. YV. p.30 "*vakaramō ṭiyaiyiṉ makara muṅ kuṟukum*"
83. Nēmiṉātam p. 12
84. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 41 "*ṇaṉa muṉṉum vaºº kāṉ micai-y-uma-k-kuṟukum*"

1.2.22 ENUMERATION

1.2.221 YK: YK which is a summarised version of the detailed and scientific study contained in Y mentions these various sounds according to the exigencies of the metre viz., kuṟil, neṭil, vowels, the three shorter vowels (the shorter / *i* /, the shorter / *u* / and the shortened / *ai* /), āytam, consonants, the three groups of consonants (the plosives, the nasals and the semi-vowels), the syllable consisting of consonant and vowel and the extra-long sounds (aḷapeṭai).[85] In all it mentions only thirteen kinds of sounds. In this YK seems to follow Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār.[86] There is a lot of overlapping, for instance, the vowels include the short and the long vowels, the consonants include the three groups. But in versification some times one takes into consideration only the vowels, for instance, when counting the syllables. But from another point of view when one analyses the metrical unit of foot these vowels will be classified into short and long. These various sounds create different rhythms by the predominance of each one of them. Therefore these details have to be mentioned in prosody as is made clear by a verse in YV.[87] There are a number of verses probably composed by the commentator of Y to justify both the exhaustive and non-exhaustive enumerations of sounds.

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85. YK *sūtra* 1
86. YK p. 13
87. Y. p. 35 *sūtra* 3 "*acai-y-ākkun taṉmaiyavē -y-aṉṟi-t- toṭai-y-ō ṭ-icai-y-ākku mēṉaiya-v-uñ coṟṟār — icaitoṭaitā mākku meḻuttaṉaittuñ coṉṉā r-acaimukattār ṟūkkiyanūṟ kēṟpa-t- tokuttu*"

1.2.222 Y: Y, however, enumerates fifteen kinds of sounds,[88] adding the shortened /au/ and the shortened /m/ to the thirteen given in YK, which probably were not considered of great importance in versification when the author came to write YK. Y follows Periyapammam in this respect whilst YK as already stated follows Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār. The same discrepancy is found between Avinayaṉār's main work Avinayam corresponding to Y, the primary work and his minor work Nālaṭinārpatu which corresponds to YK, the subsidiary work. Avinayaṉār follows Ciṟukākkaipāṭiṉiyār in enumerating only twelve sounds omitting āytam also from the thirteen of Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār. Nālaṭinārpatu mentions all the thirteen mentioned by Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār.[89] Nālaṭinārpatu, however, mentions in addition the shortened /m/, the shortened āytam and the shortened /au/[90] elsewhere in the part dealing with *acai* or metric unit. In this verse the first line runs thus:- "*kuṟil-uyir valleḻuttu-k-kuṟṟukara-v-āti*".[91] The term *āti* found in this *sūtra* must be interpreted as going with *kuṟil, uyir* etc. *kuṟilāti* stands for kuṟil, neṭil and aḷapeṭai; *uyir āti* for uyir, mey and uyirmey; *valleḻuttāti* for valleḻuttu, melleḻuttu and iṭaiyeḻuttu; and *kuṟṟukara-v-āti* for kuṟṟiya-lukaram, kuṟṟiyalikaram and āytam. This interpretation is supported by the arrangement given in Y and this arrangement suggests that there must be some work other than Periya-pammam which has arranged in the same way as in Y; for other-wise it could not be possible for *Nālaṭinārpatu* to compose

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88. Y *sūtra* 1
89. Y. p. 32. verse No. 1
90. i. e. sixteen varieties of sounds in all according to the reading given in the new edition of Y brought out by the Government of Madras.
91. Y. p. 32. verse No. 3

the *sūtra* like this in an implicit manner. As pointed above the commentator explains this discrepancy in an indirect way by pointing out that the ancient authors also enumerate sometimes in an exhaustive way and sometimes in a summary way.[92] The following is the commentator's statement:- "If the shortened /*ai*/ is separately mentioned apart from the vowel already enumerated one should not object to the shortened /*au*/ (*aukāra-k-kuṟukkam*) being mentioned in a similar way; i.e. separately (as is done in Y as distinguished from YK).[93] In a similar way if āytam which comes under the consonants is mentioned separately there can be no objection to mention shortened /*m*/ (*makara-k-kuṟukkam*) separately."[94] This is the explanation given by the commentator for specifically mentioning the shortened /*au*/ and /*m*/ after having mentioned the vowels and consonants which include these two. He also feels that the particle -*um* in the phrase *ai-m-mūveḻuttum* (i.e. 5×3=15) implies one more sound[95] and he states that

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92. YV. p. 35 Verse No. 2

93. YV. p. 35 Verse No. 1
"*uyireṉṟa collāṉē -y-oṉpata māvi ceyiriṉṟi-c-ceṉṟaṭaṅku mēṉum-payilpuraittār kuṉṟutalā leṉṉiṟ kuṇam purintā rau-v-untāṉ kuṉṟutalāṟ kūṟa-p-paṭum.*"
and
YV. p. 34 Verse No 2

94. YV. p. 34 verse No. 1 "*āytamu moṟṟā -y-aṭaṅkiṉu m-āṅkataṉai ōtiṉār toṉṉū l-uṇar-v-uṭaiyōr-nītiyāl oṟṟā -y-aṭaṅkukiṉu muṉkāla veṟṟumai-y-āṟ coṟṟār makara-c- curukku*".

95. YV. p. 36. Verse No. 2
"*aimmū-v-eḻutt m-acai-k-kuṟuppā m-enpa-taṉkaṇ ummaitā m-ecca m-eṉa-v-uraippar-....*"

the mentioning .of makara-k-kuṟukkam suggests āyta-k-kuṟukkam[96] (mentioned in Avinayam, though not in Y or YK). This commentator relies upon an older work, Māpurāṇam for taking into account from the mentioning of makara-k-kuṟukkam[97]. According to Māpurāṇam makara-k-kuṟukkam and āyta-k-kuṟukkam should not occur in a verse within or along with the name of the patron[98]. If in spite of the statements made by Māpurāṇam and Avinayam, Y has omitted it, it is probably because it follows Tolkāppiyam in not recognising āyta-k-kuṟukkam. In this connection a difference between the commentary on YK and the commentary on Y should be noted. As already suggested the commentator on YK may be the teacher of Amitacākarar who is the author of both Y and YK. The suggestion that Y prefers Tolkāppiyam is then strengthened by the commentary on YK which to a greater extent prefers quoting from Tolkāppiyam.

1.2.223 **Order in enumeration.** There is some order in the enumeration of these sounds. In the five groups each

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96. YV. p. 36. Verse No. 3
    "*makara-k-kuṟukkam vakuttatutā nāytaṟ*
    kikara-k-kuṟukka mutalā-p- — pukar-aṟṟa
    nāloṉṟu meṉṉātē nāṭṭutaṉ ñāpakamāy
    nūl-oṉṟi niṟṟaṟ poruṭṭu"

97. YV. p. 35. Verse No. 6

98. YV. p. 34
    "*kaḻi neṭi laṭi-y-uṅ kāleḻut tacai-y-um*
    peyarayaṟ puṇar-p-piṉum peyariṭai-p-puṇar-p-piṉum
    vaḻu-v-ena moḻipa vāymoḻi-p-pulavar."

consisting of three sounds, the first consists of vowels, consonants and syllabic letters. The next group consists of the short, the long and the extra-long vowels; the short and long vowels are considered to be a sub-division of vowels. But as pointed out by YV, Avinayam takes the short and the long to refer not only to the vowels but also to the syllabic letters. The third group consists of the plosives, nasals and the semi-vowels which are all but sub-divisions of consonants. The fourth group refers to the three cārpeḻuttus (as found in Tolkāppiyam). The fifth consists of the shortened /*ai*/, the shortened /*au*/ and the shortened /*m*/[99]. These with the exception of shortened /*au*/ are in a way referred to in Tolkāppiyam[100] though not included under cārpeḻuttu.

1.2.3 CHANGING PRONUNCIATION OF SOUNDS

There are a few *sūtras* in Y which are important for understanding the gradual change in pronunciation of certain sounds. This is important from the point of view of the study of the history of Tamil language. One of the *sūtras* states as follows:– "Except when they become syllabic the consonants and āytam do not form syllables by themselves".[101] The exception here mentioned contemplates that these sounds become syllabic when they are elongated and for this examples are given in the commentary. Does it mean that the contrast between single and geminated sounds was nullified in some cases?

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99. Y *sūtra* 1
100. TE *sūtras* 57 and 331.
101. Y *sūtra* 3

Another important reference is that when there is metrical exigency the shorter /i/ and the shorter /u/ are not counted as syllables and that the aḷapeṭai (which is supposed to contain more than two māttirais) is treated merely as long vowel[102] (which contains only two māttirais). This statement is important, because according to Tolkāppiyar, the short /u/ which is not utterance final does not behave like a shorter /u/[103]. By the time of Y the shorter /u/ even when it is not utterance final became the shortened sound (if other qualifications are satisfied). Aḷapeṭai was considered to be disyllabic in Tolkāppiyar's time.[104] But the rule in Y shows that in some cases it came to be pronounced as a single syllable so much so the extra lengthening did not affect the metre. It is this position which is accepted by Naṉṉūl.[105] This statement about shorter /i/, shorter /u/ and aḷapeṭai is found also in Mayēccurar yāppu, Kākkaipāṭiṉiyam and Avinayam.[106] YK mentions it in *oḻipiyal*[107].

1.2.4 SIMILARITY OF SOUNDS:

1.2.41 Vowels : We get some more information from YK and its commentary. /ai/ has one and a half māttirais in the initial syllable whereas elsewhere it is on a par with a short

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102. Y *sūtra* 4 "*taḷaicīr vaṇṇan tāṅkeṭa variṉē kuṟukiya-v-ikaramuṅ kuṟṟiyal ukaramum aḷapeṭai -y-āviyu-m alakiyal pilavē*"
103. TE 409
104. TE *Sūtras* 5 and 6.
105. Naṉṉūl 53
106. Y p. 45 and 46.
107. YK *sūtra* 38

vowel.[108] There is hiatus sometimes between two vowels and in such a case each short open syllable may behave like a long syllable or *nēr acai*. This kind of vowel combination comes in words of onomatopoeia, command, interrogation and also when a single short vowel denotes itself or is a demonstrative. In all these cases there is a pause. But when pronounced in one foot there probably occurs a glottal stop as it does when our children enumerate the vowels of the alphabet. It is also stated that this hiatus rhymes with plosives and therefore is called *viṭṭicai etukai*. See *paṟṟi* rhyming with *no alaiyal*.[109] In *etukai* rhyming the second letter is taken into consideration. Sometimes the third letter alone is taken into consideration. Such instances are important to show the similarity of sounds. There is also the mention of *iṉavetukai*[110] etc., and the commentary on YK states that */a/*, */ā/*, */ai/* and */au/* form one group for the purpose of alliteration; so do */i/* : */ī/* and */e/* : */ē/* and similarly */u/* : */ū/* and */o/* : */ō/*.[111] YV quotes a *sūtra* by Nallāṟaṉār[112] which might have inspired Amitacākarar to conceive of *iṉavetukai*.

1.2.42 **Consonants:** As for the consonants are concerned, it is stated that */c/* : */t/*, */ñ/* : */n/* and */m/* : */v/* form three related groups.[113] The commentary on YK also points

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108. YK *sūtra* 36
109. YV p. 194
110. Rhyme in which the rhyming letters of the lines in a stanza are not the same, but are of the same class.
111. YK p. 161
112. YV p. 196
113. Ibid

out that in *etukai* the occurrence of /y/, /r/, /l/ and /ḻ/ even when disturbing the rhyming is tolerated.[114] This can only mean that in such cases these 'semi-vowels' are so slightly pronounced which almost amounts to their absence. In a subsequent age these have probably disappeared in pronunciation and therefore were not often written in inscriptions.

1.2.5 CONVENTIONS

Whenever a technical subject was treated there came a scientific fashion or convention to be established as is made clear by the commentaries on Tolkāppiyam, a fashion followed in Naṉṉūl also. It has to be noted that the commentator of Y also follows this convention to the extent it is applicable to his subject.[115] First of all the technical terms are enumerated, numbered and explained according to a logical order. The first *sūtra* in Y enumerates the constituents by giving their names in the logical order whilst their total number can be easily understood though not explicitly stated. The number, designation and the order are mentioned as different topics in Naṉṉūl, Iḷampūraṇam etc.

1.2.6 WORDS – MOTIVATED AND UNMOTIVATED

The commentary on YK takes up for discussion the etymology of *eḻuttu* and the other constituents of a verse. As

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114. YK p. 157

115. YV p. 18
"*ivai-y-immuṟai-y-ē vaittaṟku eṉṉai-y-ō kāraṇam eṉiṉ eḻuttu ellā uṟuppukkum mutaṟ kāraṇamātaliṟ ciṟapputaitteṉṟu muṉ vaittār.*"

pointed out by Ullmann words are either "motivated" or "unmotivated".[116] These terms are comparable to the Tamil terms *kāraṇam* 'word conveying the etymological sense' and *iṭukuṟi* 'arbitrary or conventional' and to the Sanskrit terms *yōga* and *rūḍhi*. One of the kinds of motivation is derivation. The root may be unmotivated but the addition of suffix or other grammatical transformation may make the meaning of the derived word, used by the speaker of the language, clear to us, if we know the meaning of the root and if we had met with the suffix etc., elsewhere though not in this very word itself. The commentary on YK states without going into details that the names *eḻuttu* etc., are *kāraṇa-k-kuṟi*.[117] YV in all such places appears to be a further elaboration of the commentary on YK. That is one reason why we combine both these commentaries in this study. YV makes the general statement that the names are either *kāraṇakkuṟi* or *iṭukuṟi* i.e. either motivated or unmotivated.[118] The word *eḻuttu* is traced to the root *eḻutu*[119]. The grammatical transformation by the doubling of the plosive /*t*/ gives us a noun which denotes something written. In such a case *eḻuttu* can refer only to the written symbol; the meaning of this word is extended then to the sound symbolised by the script. But Tolkāppiyam uses the root *eḻūu*[120] which refers to the articulation or

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116. Stephen Ullmann, "The Principles of Semantics," Second edition, Oxford, 1959.
117. YK p. 5 "*eḻuttu mutalākiya eṭṭaṉai-y-um kāraṇa-k-kuṟi-y-āṉ vaḻaṅkumāṟu.*"
118. YV p. 18 "*ivaṟṟai iṭukuṟiyāṉum, kāraṇak-k-kuṟiyāṉum vaḻaṅkupa*"
119. YV p. 18 and YK p. 5.
120. TE *sūtra* 6

pronunciation. It is true that Tolkāppiyam in its description of the syllabic letter refers to the written form also.[121] The term used for the written form is *uru*. But it is possible to argue that *uru* means something else viz. "the nature (of the sound)".

1.2.61 *yōga, rūḍhi and yōgarūḍhi*: Naṉṉūl when it deals with the sub-section on the names of the sounds starts with the general principle saying that the names are either motivated or unmotivated.[122] Evidently YV must be his inspiration though the real source is in Sanskrit which distinguishes between *yōga, rūḍhi* and *yōgarūḍhi*, a three-fold distinction which is contemplated in the *sūtra* in Naṉṉūl. The commentaries on Y and YK are interested only in prosody but the general principles about the names of the sounds are applicable to all the technical names in phonology and grammar and that is why Naṉṉūl inserts this *sūtra* so as to be applicable to all technical terms following the above commentaries.

1.2.7 *Eḻuttu* — MATERIAL CAUSE

According to YV *eḻuttu* or letter is mentioned first in the list of constituents because it is the primary and material cause for the primary constituents in all further hierarchies of constitutes in a verse[123]. Naṉṉūl also impliedly suggests that *eḻuttu* is defined first because it is the primary and material cause of words[124]. Pavaṇanti is clear in his mind that language is primarily a spoken institution. Therefore the

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121. Ibid *sūtra* 17

122. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 7

123. See Footnote 115

124. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 3 "*moḻimutaṟ-kāraṇa mām-aṇu-t-tiraḷ oli eḻuttu....*"

sound (*oli*) which is otherwise called *eḻuttu* or *oliyeḻuttu* is the material cause for the spoken word and is in its turn the result of its material cause *aṇu-t-tiraḷ*. This Jain theory has already been explained in the study of Avinayam.

The Sanskrit word for *tiraḷ* is *skandha*. In a verse quoted in YV, composed probably by the commentator himself, the compound *aṇu-k-kantu*[125] is found wherein the word *kantu* is the Tamilised form of Sanskrit *skandha*. This verse combines the ideas found in Tolkāppiyam and Avinayam.

1.2.8 ARTICULATION: PLACE OF ARTICULATION ETC.

1.2.81 YV: There is the energy surging up from the navel; this becomes the breath force and reaches (1) the chest [lungs] (2) throat or (3) the head and thereafter comes out as the speech sound transformed into various sounds when passing through the above mentioned three places and the other five viz., teeth, lips, tongue, nose and palate.[126] This is similar to the statement made by Tolkāppiyar in this regard.

1.2.82 *Nēminātam*: Nēminātam[127] mentions the same idea. It calls the upsurging energy from the navel, *udāna* (*vaḷi*) as known to Sanskrit.[128] The commentator because of the

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125. YV p. 46 "*āṟṟalcā lāvi muyala -v-akatt-iyalkā lēṟṟ-eḻunta t-cṭṭiṭattu muttiṟattāṟ-ṟōṟṟi v-icai yā- m-aṇukkantā m-ainteḻuttāy -p-pattu-t-ticai-y-āy-c- cevi-p-pula-ṉāy-c-ceṉṟu*".

126. See footnote 125

127. See the chapter: "Nēminātam and Naṉṉūl"

128. Nēminātam *sūtra* 6

two groups of three and five places or organs speaks of two different categories viz., the *mutal iṭam* and *tuṇai iṭam*[129], the primary place and the subsidiary place respectively.

1.2.83 *Vīracōḻiyam* Vīracōḻiyam which belongs to the 11th century and therefore previous to Nēminatām speaks of the chest, the head, the throat and the nose as the places of articulation and refers to the palate, the teeth, the lip and the tongue as the organs of articulation[130]. Naṉṉūl follows this. Vīracōḻiyam uses the word *muyaṟci* "effort" and Naṉṉūl uses the word *toḻil* "action"[131]

1.2.84 *Tolkāppiyam*: Tolkāppiyam itself refers to *miṭaṟṟuvaḷi* and *mūkkuvaḷi*[132] and also the sounds produced by those two kinds of *vaḷi*[133]. It does not however mention the sounds produced by *neñcu vaḷi*. The *sūtra* about the plosives being produced by *neñcu vaḷi* has, perhaps, disappeared. Naccināṟkkiṉiyar interprets the term *kāṭci* which is found in *sūtra* 101 as referring to *neñcu vaḷi* which according to him produces āytam etc. Though Iḷampūraṇar interprets it as referring to *talaivaḷi* which produces āytam etc., Tolkāppiyam itself has no reference to *talaivaḷi* and thus probably there is no place for it in his scheme of things. On this score some have doubted the authenticity of *sūtra* 83 in Tolkāppiyam which deals with the general articulation. Perhaps *miṭaṟu* and *talai* change their place in this *sūtra*

129. Ibid page 12
130. Vīracōḻiyam *sūtra* 6
131. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 19
132. TE *sūtra* 83
133. Ibid *sūtras* 84, 99 for *miṭaṟṟu vaḷi* and *sūtra* 100 for *mūkku vaḷi*.

according to Tolkāppiyar's scheme which speaks of *miṭaṟṟu-vaḷi* in the beginning. *talai* will then mean the dome of the mouth wherefrom some sounds are articulated. This kind of alteration in the order may be more in keeping with the two divisions of the eight organs mentioned. But the Sanskrit theory has a place for *talai* and even there it is not clear[134].

1.2.85 YV : The verse about articulation found in YV refers to the eight places or organs. It also states that the energy becomes manifested in three different ways perhaps referring to the three *vaḷis* mentioned above. Because of our conscious effort the inner energy or force of breath which is sufficiently powerful, goes up from the eight places and manifests itself in three different ways. The *aṇukkantu* or the group of molecules are in motion or vibration; the speech sounds thus produced become manifest in all the (ten) directions and are perceived by the ear on which they strike.[135]

1.2.9 *māttirai* :

Māttirai or the unit quantity of sound is defined by YV as the time equal to that of the winking of the eye or the

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134. See W. S. Allen, "Phonetics in Ancient India", (p.53) London Oriental Series, Volume I, Oxford University Press, 1953. "Mūrdhan means simply 'head' or 'summit' and the Indian terminology is reflected in the still not entirely obsolete terms 'cerebral' and 'cacuminal'. The term is in fact unusually imprecise and Whitney is probably right in suggesting that it represents a traditional title surviving from a period when phonetic science was less well developed"

135. See footnote 125

snapping of the fingers.[136] The commentary on YK does not define thus but quotes from Tolkāppiyam and other works; YV also quotes these works in addition to its definition. The quotation from Tolkāppiyam found in the commentary on YK is important. The first line of the seventh *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam is quoted as *kaṇṇimai kainnoṭi aḷavē māttirai* instead of *kaṇṇimai noṭi-y-eṉa avvē māttirai* which is the reading now found in all the editions of Tolkāppiyam. YV gives the present reading when it quotes Tolkāppiyam. By some mistake the first line of the *sūtra* in Caṅkayāppu beginning with *kaṇṇimai kainnoṭi* and the first line beginning with *kaṇṇimai* in Tolkāppiyam have become telescoped into the reading of the first line found in the commentary on YK. Therefore it should be taken really as quoting both the Caṅkayāppu and Tolkāppiyam *sūtras*.

1.2.10 VARIOUS KINDS OF SOUNDS

The various kinds of sounds and their number as given in these commentaries are tabulated.[137] In listing the vowels, consonants etc., both the commentators seem to follow Caṅkayāppu. But YV alone quotes Caṅkayāppu whilst the commentary on YK quotes Tolkāppiyam.

1.2.10.1 uyirmey: The statement about uyirmey is based on Palkāyam, a grammatical work quoted in YV. The explanation of YV is clearer than that of the commentary on YK. There seems to be some mistake in the version available in the commentary on YK. Perhaps it must be as in YV.

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136. YV p. 24 " *māttirai-y-āvatu kaṇṇimaittaloṭu kainoṭi-y-otta kālam* "

137. See at the end of this chapter.

According to the previous statements therein about vowels and consonants it should run as follows: *uyirmeyyāvaṉa uyirum meyyum kūṭṭi uccarikka-p-paṭā niṉṟa paṉṉiru patineṭṭiru-nūṟṟorupattāṟ eḻuttum eṉa-k-koḷka; avai-y-āvaṉa kakaram mutal ṉakaram īṟāy-k-kiṭanta irunūṟṟ-orupatt-āṟ-eḻuttām.*[138]

1.2.10.2 *aḷapeṭai*: *aḷapeṭai*, according to YV, occurs when there is a deficiency in metrical quantity[139] and for this YV quotes a *sūtra* whose author is unknown as it has already been mentioned. It is because of this, YV states, that the aḷapeṭai in non-metrical situations such as onomatopoeia etc., are not taken into account in metrical treatises even though they occur in a verse.[140] Naṉṉūl also speaks of *icai keṭiṉ*[141] "when there is metrical exigency"

Both YV and the commentary on YK start with saying that they are of two kinds viz., uyiraḷapeṭai and oṟṟaḷapeṭai[142]. They state that the long vowels get the extra length along with their respective short vowels and that /*ai*/ and /*au*/ will have /*i*/ and /*u*/ respectively as their related short vowels.

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138. YK p. 11

139. YV. p. 22 "*māttirai kuṉṟaliṟ cīrkuṉṟi-t-taḷai keṭa niṉṟa-v-iṭattu yāppaḻi-y-āmai-p -poruṭṭu vēṇṭappaṭṭaṉa*"

140. YV p. 24 "*viḷi mutalāyiṉa-vaṟṟuḷ mūṉṟu māttirai-y-iṉ mikka pala māttirai-y-āṉum aḷapeṭuttu varumāyiṉum, avai ceyyuṭ-kaḷukku-p-periyatōr upakāram paṭa nillāvākaliṉ avaṟṟiṟku ilakkaṇam eṭuttōtiṉārillai-y-eṉa-k-koḷka*"

141. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 36

142. YV p. 23 and YK p. 16.

They divide their occurrences into four quoting the *sūtra* already discussed. Only YV in giving the explanation will speak of four kinds of aḷapeṭai[143] according to the position of occurrence whilst the commentary on YK states that the long vowel will get the extra length in four places[144]. In both, the four are enumerated according to their respective points of view as *taṉi nilai aḷapeṭai* etc., and *taṉi nilai* etc. Naṉṉūl omits *taṉi nilai aḷapeṭai*.

1.2.10.21 *uyiraḷapeṭai*: uyiraḷapeṭai according to their basic long vowels will be seven in number. But if we consider their occurrences according to situations (viz. initial, medial and final and independent) there will be four. When we multiply the seven long vowels by these four kinds of occurrences we get 28. YV states that uyiraḷapeṭai is also found in colloquial usage where they go beyond the limit of three māttirais especially in vocative case of address and in other places. But generally uyiraḷapeṭai contains only three māttirais. YV mentions the other situations as *paṇṭa māṟṟu* "the cry of the hawker", *nāval kūṟ*al "shouting at an animal" etc.[145] Tolkāppiyam has mentioned music as another place[146]. The commentary on YK also cites *paṇṭamāṟṟu*[147]. These are considered to be onomatopoeias and they are not taken for syllabification in metre as shown by YV.

As Naccirārkkiṉiyar points out Māpurāṇam contemplates the uyiraḷapeṭai going beyond the three māttirais[148] and the

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143. YV p. 23
144. YK p. 17
145. YV p. 42
146. TE *sūtra* 33
147. YK p, 133
148. Naccirārkkiṉiyar's commentary under TE *sūtra* 6.

usage in the works like Tirukkuṟaḷ[149] justifies this as being true to later literary usage. Pavaṇanti recognises that the vowels and the consonants can exceed the quantity prescribed for them in music, in the vocative case, in the cry of the hawker etc.[150] He prescribes only three māttirais for uyiraḷapeṭai probably following Palkāyam and YV.[151] Here is a case where Naṉṉūl sticks to the ancient usage in spite of the observation found in Māpurāṇam and changes that have occurred in the later day language.

1.2.10.22 *Oṟṟaḷapeṭai:* According to both the commentators oṟṟaḷapeṭai occurs only after a single short syllable or a double open short syllable. Both of them enumerate the eleven *oṟṟu* which get syllabic status in metre.[152] YV enumerates them as ten consonants (*mey*) (ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m, ṉ, v, y, l, ḷ and āytam) because the author of Y distinguishes between *taṉinilai* (*āytam*) and the consonants (which he designates as *oṟṟu*)[153]. The commentary on YK however enumerates in a continuous manner making no such distinction as *mey* and *āytam* and calls them all *oṟṟu*.[154] Naṉṉūl follows the commentary on YK in the manner of enumeration.[155]

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149. Tirukkuṟaḷ couplet No. 1200
150. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 46
151. Ibid *sūtra* 44
152. YV p. 37
153. Y *sūtra* 3 "*taṉinilai-y-oṟṟivai tāmala k-ilavē-y-aḷapeṭai -y-allā-k- kālai-y-āṉa*"
154. YK p. 18
155. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 37

YV adds that the oṟṟaḷapeṭai occurs medially and finally in words.[156] Naṉṉūl follows YV here.[157]

Both the commentators on Y and YK quote the same *sūtra* from Avinayam and state almost in identical terms that oṟṟaḷapeṭai occurs only in literary usage but not in the colloquial usage.[158]

YV further enumerates the varieties of oṟṟaḷapeṭai as 22.[159] (11 (letters) × 2 (positions) = 22 varieties). They occur in eight varieties of *aḷapeṭai-t-toṭai* in verse i.e. 176 varieties. If they are further distinguished as to their final and medial occurrences that figure will be doubled i.e. 352. But if the differentiation in versification is omitted we get eleven letters × two (medial and final) after single short syllables and short disyllables i.e. 44. But the velar nasal never occurs in the utterance final and if these two are deducted one will have 42 and that figure is given in Naṉṉūl[160].

1.2.11 *Cārpeḻuttu*

Tolkāppiyar speaks of cārpeḻuttu as occurring in one word (*taṉimoḻi*) and occurring in sandhi of two words (*puṇarmoḻi*).[161] The commentary on YK says that only

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156. YV p. 37 "*kuṟiṟ kīḻum kuṟiliṇai-k-kīḻum vantu iṟuti nilai aḷapeṭaiyum, iṭainilai aḷapeṭai-y-um*"
157. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 37 "*kuṟiliṇai kuṟiṟkīl iṭaikaṭai.*"
158. YV p. 38 and YK p. 18. "*ivvirupattiraṇṭu puḷḷi aḷapeṭai-y-um ceyyuḷakattallatu paravai vaḻakk-iṉuḷ vārā eṉa-k-koḷka.*"
159. YV. p. 37
160. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 6
161. TE (moḻimarapu) *sūtras* 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 39.

kuṟṟiyalikaram has two varieties.[162] In addition to this YV refers to two kinds of āytam[163] i.e. occurring in one word and occurring in sandhi of two words. But instead of *puṇarmoḻi*, the phrase used in Tolkāppiyam, he uses *toṭarmoḻi*. The term *toṭarmoḻi* does not mean words of more than two syllables as in Tolkāppiyam but merely means the coming together of two words. Unlike in Tolkāppiyam YV does not mention where the sandhi āytam will occur. Both these commentators do not refer to the two-fold distinction with reference to kuṟṟiyalukaram.

In dealing with these three together Y calls them *cārpiṟṟōṉṟum taṉmaiya*[164] following Tolkāppiyam. There is also another author whose name is unknown who follows Tolkāppiyar's usage[165].

1.2.11.1 *kuṟṟiyalikaram*: With reference to kuṟṟiyalikaram they use a different phraseology: (1) where the /*u*/ has changed into /*i*/ and (2) where the /*i*/ has not so changed[166]. What has not changed refers to the /*i*/ which is the shorter /*i*/ by nature in a word i.e. the /*i*/ in the suffix *-miyā* preceded by such roots like *kēḷ* and *cel* resulting in the forms *kēṇmiyā* and *ceṉmiyā*. For this distinction they quote Tolkāppiyam[167]

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162. YK p. 15
163. YV p. 28
164. Y *sūtra* 2
165. YV p. 25 *kuṟṟiyalikaram kuṟṟiyalukaram āyta-p-puḷḷi -y-eṉṟivai mūṉṟuñ cārpiṟ ṟōṟṟa-t- turimai-y-i ṉuḷa-v-ē.*
166. YV p. 26 and YK p. 15.
167. YV p. 27 and YK p. 15.

YV further adds that if the shorter /*i*/ occurs otherwise it may also be noted[168]. What he really means by this is not clear. But Avinayam, Palkāyam etc., do not refer to the shortor /i/ in *–miyā* probably because by their time the use of this second personal suffix has become negligible even in literature.

1.2.11.2 *kuṟṟiyalukaram*: As for kuṟṟiyalukaram the commentators on Y and YK follow Avinayam and Palkāyam. They quote Palkāyam[169]. The commentory on YK however mentions the distinction of kuṟṟiyalukaram into six as recognised by Tolkāppiyar[170] and quotes Tolkāppiyam. All these go to show that both the commentators under reference prefer to follow, in as many cases as possible, the ancient authority of Tolkāppiyam in spite of the changes that had occurred in the language and in spite of their following other authors in some places who have given recognition to the changes in the language.

In dealing with both the shorter /*i*/ and the shorter /*u*/ YV quotes also Caṅkayāppu for its stand that both of them will get *puḷḷi* in their script form even as /*e*/ and /*o*/ get the *puḷḷi*.[171]

1.2.11.3 *āytam*: As already stated the commentary on YK does not mention the āytam occurring ln sandhi whereas YV mentions both.

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168. YV p. 27 "*piṟa vakai–y–ā ṉum vantavaḻi–k–kaṇṭu koḷka.*"

169. YV p. 25 and YK p. 14.

170. YK p. 14

171. YV p. 27

1.2.11.4 *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam and aukāra-k-kuṟukkam:* YK refers only to aikāra-k-kuṟukkam and not to aukāra-k-kuṟukkam. The commentary therefore refers only to the shortened /*ai*/. The shortened /*ai*/ behaves in two different ways: (1) in having one and a half mattirais in some places and (2) one mattirai in other places.[172] It is further pointed out that the shortened /*ai*/ occurs initially, medially and finally. It is not clear why the *taṉinilai* which is taken into consideration in discussing aḷapeṭai is not mentioned here. It is true they speak of *taṉi* [173] i. e. where the /*ai*/ as mentioned above is referring to itself. This is the interpretation given to the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* which refers this *taṉi* as *taṟ cuṭṭu*.[174] Or it may be that these authors intended that the /*ai*/ will not be shortened in *taṉinilai* or monosyllabic words. The commentary on YK refers to a *sūtra* which mentions only the shortening of /*ai*/.[175] But it also quotes Avinayam which refers to the shortening of both /*ai*/ and /*au*/. Y though from the same author of YK mentions the shortened /*au*/ along with shortened /*ai*/.[176] YV writes almost the same sentence that is found in the commentary on YK when the latter defines the shortened /*ai*/. But because Y mentions the shortened /*au*/ as well, YV replaces *aikāram* in that sentence by the compound *aikāra aukāram*. It however adds another sentence that /*ai*/ and /*au*/ even when occurring in a monosyllable will be shortened into one and a half

172. YK p. 16
173. YV p. 28; YK p. 16.
174. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 40
175. YK p. 16
176. Y *sūtra* 2

māttirais[177]. The recent edition of Y published by the Government of Madras, however removes *aukāram* from the last mentioned sentence and also removes the clause "the monosyllables in which /au/ occurs"[178]. It is not explained why this liberty has been taken, though at least for Avinayam a different reading is given. It is not clearly stated in the commentary as to where in non-monosyllabic words these diphthongs get one and a half or one māttirai. As already stated a commentary on Nannūl[179] explains that in the initial position they get one and a half māttirais whilst elsewhere they behave like short vowels of one māttirai duration each.

1.2.11.5 *makara-k-kuṟukkam*: YV alone refers to makara-k-kuṟukkam[180] and it quotes Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 13 and 331. It also quotes an anonymous author already referred to. There seems to have been a discussion[181] in his age about Tolkāppiyar's *sūtras* on this. It is surprising that such a discussion ever took place. One has to assume that in his age or in the previous age the *sūtra* 331 was not in some text or that people started discussing without making a thorough study of the subject they talked about. We have already stated the implications of mentioning makara-k-kuṟukkam as detailed by YV.

1.2.12 *pōli*: The books on prosody usually do not refer to *pōli* i.e. to sounds which are pronounced alike. But

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177. YV p. 28
178. YV edn. Vidwan M. V. Venugopalappillai, Published by the Government of Madras.
179. Naṉṉūl, Civañāṉa cuvāmikaḷ's commentary p. 65.
180. Y *sūtra* 2, YV p. 29.
181. YV p. 30 and p. 60.

these are of importance in rhyme and elsewhere in versification. We have already referred to in the study on Avinayam where a+i, a+y and a+ஃ are all equal to /*ai*/. Similarly a+u and a+v are equal to /*au*/. Tolkāppiyam mentions a+i=ai and also a+y=/*ai*/. But it does not mention a+ஃ is equal to /*ai*/. So also Tolkāppiyam while mentioning a+u=/*au*/ does not mention a+v=/av/. As already pointed out in the discussion on Avinayam the *sūtra* 70 in Naṉṉūl, follows Avinayam as far as /*au*/ is concerned and follows Tolkāppiyam as far as /*ai*/ is concerned. But Dr. U. V. Swaminata Aiyar has found a reading[182] for this *sūtra* which is as already pointed out on all fours with Avinayam. In any case it is interesting to learn that even by the time of Avinayam that /*y*/ began to rhyme with āytam. This rhyming is found in Peruṅkatai etc.[183]

1.2.13 GROUPING OF LETTERS

The commentary on YK takes away the three shorter vowels and aḷapeṭai from the order in which they are mentioned in the text almost to the end of its commentary[184] on its first *sūtra* on *uṟuppiyal*. In this way one gets two groups, the second group consisting of these and the other group consisting of all the rest viz., the short and the long vowel, āytam, *valleḻuttu*, *melleḻuttu*, *iṭaiyeḻuttu* and uyirmey. This is an interesting grouping, for, one would have expected āytam to go with the shorter /*i*/ and /*u*/. One has therefore to find out the basis of this new grouping. Vīracōḻiyam mentions the

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182. Naṉṉūl, Mayilainātar's commentary, edn. Dr. U. V. Swaminata Aiyar, p. 52
183. Peruṅkatai 1:33:109
184. YK pp. 13—18

vowels as the first group and the consonants as the last group and the āytam as the central one.[185] The same thing is mentioned in Nēminātam.[186] This can refer only to the order in which these sounds are written in the alphabet. This is the conventional way in which the alphabet is taught even now. Perhaps this convention goes back to the age of the commentary on YK. This alone can explain this first group. The shorter /i/ and /u/ and aḷapeṭai were probably not so taught to the beginners and they certainly do not find a place in the alphabet. Of course this does not mean that these did not have separate symbols for distinguishing them. The aḷapeṭai is even now distinguished. According to YV the kuṟṟiyalukaram and kuṟṟiyalikaram are distinguished by *puḷḷi*.[187] The kuṟṟiyalukaram is distinguished even now in the Malayalam script by a kind of semi-circle. By the time of Naṉṉūl this habit of distinguishing kuṟṟiyalikaram and kuṟṟiyalukaram must have been lost in the Tamil country.

1.2.14 FOUR KINDS OF LETTERS

There are distinctions mentioned in YV on the basis of some old *sūtras*[188] viz. (1) *uru-v-eḻuttu* i. e. the script written with a form; (2) *uṇar-v-eḻuttu* i. e. the sound or what is symbolised by a symbol and what is understood by our mind; (3) *oli-y-eḻuttu* is the sound heard or perceived by the ear even as one perceives the song of the birds; (4) *taṉmai-y-eḻuttu* is the sound as pronounced and heard, intended and perceived as a speech sound. In this case *oli-y-eḻuttu* as

185. Vīracōḻiyam verse 1
186. Nēminātam verse 1
187. YV p. 27
188. YV pp. 535, 536.

distinguished from *tanmai-y-eluttu* must be the speech sound recognised, for instance, by a linguist as a speech sound perhaps of a language unknown to him and whose value in the word system of the language he does not know. *Uṇar-v-eluttu* will then be the mental recognition of a script as a symbol of a sound in the absence of any pronunciation. *Tanmai-y-eluttu* alone will be the unit sound of a known language pronounced and recognised as such. It is possible if we strain the meaning to read in these four, the pictogram, the ideogram, the phonogram and the alphabetic sounds respectively. Nannūl however distinguishes only *oli-y-eluttu*[189] and *vaṭivam* or *vaṭi-v-eluttu*[190]. *Oli-y-eluttu* in Nannūl is the speech sound and *vaṭi-v-eluttu* is the script. It must be stated that in following Tolkāppiyar in the description of syllabic letters, he uses the word *uru*[191] used in Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra*[192].

APPENDIX

Chart showing various kinds of sounds and their number given in the commentaries on Y and YK

1. In YV

   (1) *uyir* — 12
   (2) *mey* — 18
   (3) *uyirmey* — 216
   (4) *kurreluttu* — 5
   (5) *neṭṭeluttu* — 7

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189. Nannūl *sūtra* 3
190. Ibid *sūtra* 43
191. Ibid *sūtra* 34
192. TE *sūtra* 17

(6) *aḷapeṭai*

- *uyiraḷapeṭai*
  - *taṉi*
  - *mutal*
  - *iṭai*
  - *iṟuti*
- *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*
  - *taṉi*
  - *mutal*
  - *iṭai*
  - *iṟuti*

(7) *vaṉmai* — 6

(8) *meṉmai* — 6

(9) *iṭaimai* — 6

(10) *cārpiṟṟōṉṟuntaṉmaiya*

- *kuṟṟiyalukaram* — 7
- *kuṟṟiyalikaram* — 7
- *āytam* — 2

(11) *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam*=3

- *mutal*
- *iṭai*
- *kaṭai*

(12) *aukāra-k-kurukkam*=3

- *mutal*
- *iṭai*
- *kaṭai*

(13) *makara-k-kuṟukkam*=1

2. In YK

(1) *kuṟil* — 5

(2) *neṭil* - 7

(3) *āvi* — 12

(4) *kuṟukiya mūvuyir*

- *kuṟṟiyalikaram* — 7+1
- *kuṟṟiyalukaram* — 7
- *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam*
  - *mutal*
  - *iṭai*
  - *kaṭai*

(5) *āytam*

(6) *mey* — 18

(7) *mūviṉam*

- *valliṉam* — 6
- *melliṉam* — 6
- *iṭai–y–iṉam* — 6

(8) *uyirmey* — 216

(9) *aḷapu*

- *uyiraḷapeṭai*=28
  - *taṉinilai*
  - *col mutaṉilai*
  - *col iṭaiṉilai*
  - *col iṟutiṉilai*

  28
- *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* = 22

1.3. VĪRACŌḶIYAM AND NAṈṈŪL

1.3.1 AUTHOR, AGE ETC.

Vīracōḷiyam [VC] marks a land-mark in the history of Tamil grammatical literature. After Tolkāppiyam, the next great grammatical work available to us with all the five *ilakkaṇams* is VC. We can compare Tolkāppiyam with VC in their entirety. The later work is named after Vīra Cōḻaṉ as it is made clear by the *pāyiram* "introductory verse".[1] This Vīra Cōḻaṉ is no other than Vīra Rajendra, son of Rajendra the Great. This is supported by verse No. 7 in the work itself, which speaks of Tamil as the speech of the Cōla King, Vīra Rajendra, whose white parasol is said to be covering the whole world.[2] Therefore this work belongs to the 11th century, though some opine that the name Vīra Cōḻa was also the title of Vikrama Cōḻa who succeeded Kulōttuṅga I in 1118 A. D. The author is a Buddhist King or a Chieftain with the name Puttamittiraṉ. He belongs to the town of Poṉpaṟṟi. The commentator of this work goes by the name of Peruntēvaṉār. He refers to Kampaṉ[3] (according to another reading Nampaṉ) and to Rajendra and also to the Battle of Koppam[4]. The other authors quoted by this commentator belong to the period earlier than 11th Century. Therefore this

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1. VC p. 1. Introductory verse 3. "*Vīra cōḻaṉ tirup-peyarāl pū mēl uraipppaṉ*"
2. "*mēviya veṇkuṭai-c-cempiyaṉ vīra rācēntiraṉṟan nāviyal centamiḻ colliṉ moḻimutal naṉṉutalē*"
3. VC p. 35
4. VC p. 195

commentator may not be very far removed from the author. It is said in the penultimate verse which closes the commentary, that this commentator has written his work in the discharge of his duty - probably as a disciple of the author[5].

1.3.2 CONTENTS : Vīracōḻiyam consists of five parts, viz. *eḻuttu, col, poruḷ, yāppu* and *alaṅkāram*. Eḻuttatikāram with which we are concerned here has only one *paṭalam* dealing with sandhi. But before describing sandhi rules this work gives the names of the sounds, the articulation of sounds, and enumerates the initial and final sounds in the first eight verses. In its eleventh and twelfth verses, it deals with Sanskrit sandhi, which is not found in any other book now available except Nēminātam which follows this work.

This *canti-p-paṭalam* consists of twentyeight verses. If we leave out of account the ten verses specified above, in the remaining eighteen verses, the sandhi rules are given for Tamil words. The rules are given in a very summary manner and therefore we have to fill in the lacuna with reference to the specific environments for the sandhi changes with the help of the valuable commentary.

1.3.3 A COMPARISON WITH *Tolkāppiyam* ETC.

Before considering the sandhi rules stated in VC one may compare VC and Tolkāppiyam with reference to the other aspects of phonology mentioned above so that one can find out to what extent Naṉṉūl follows the other works rather than Tolkāppiyam. The twelve vowels, the eighteen consonants, the six nasals, the six plosives, and the six semi-vowels are

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5. VC p. 284
"*kaṭaṉāka vēnaviṉ ṟāṉṟamiḻ kātaliṟ kaṟpavarkkē*"

defined in the most summary way[6]. āytam is mentioned as occurring in the alphabet between the vowels and the consonants[7]. It is called *naṭu* and the commentator calls it *taṉinilai* or *a°°kēṉam*[8]. This arrangement is probably contemplated even in Avinayam and certainly in Nēminātam. Naṉṉūl does not mention this fact of its occurring midway between the vowels and consonants but calls it as *taṉinilai*[9].

VC mentions that the letters /e/ and /o/ get a *puḷḷi*.[10] There is nothing said about kuṟṟiyalukaram and kuṟṟiyalikaram getting the *puḷḷi*. In this respect Naṉṉūl follows VC[11].

makarakkuṟukkam is stated to occur only when /m/ is followed by /v/[12]. There is no reference to the other kind of makarakkuṟukkam as in *pōṉm* etc. It has to be stated that this makarakkuṟukkam is mentioned in describing the *sandhi* rules. The commentator on VC adds that this makarakkuṟukkam will have an additional dot inside to show the further shortening[13]. This seems to be his interpretation of the *sūtra* 10 in Tolkāppiyam, "*uṭpeṟu puḷḷi uruvākummē*". This occurs after the *sūtra* defining makarakkuṟukkam; therefore Peruntēvaṉār is justified in taking it to apply to the *makaram* itself. *Puḷḷi* denotes a shortening [see in kuṟṟiyalukaram and

6. VC verse 1
7. Ibid "*naṭu-v-āytam*"
8. VC p.3 "*a°°kēṉam eṉṉun taṉinilai eḻuttāṉatu*"
9. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 5
10. VC verse 3
11. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 43
12. VC verse 19
13. VC p. 17

kuṟṟiyalikaram; and the syllabic letter gets a *puḷḷi* and becomes the consonant which is lesser in duration than the syllabic letter] and therefore makarakkuṟukkam must have had in ancient times a *puḷḷi* in addition to the *puḷḷi* found for the consonant /m/. This occurs inside the symbol of /m/ as differentiated from the *puḷḷi* which occurs on the top of the consonant. This is the interpretation which Peruntēvaṉār will give for the *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam. This seems to be on the face of it, reasonable in the context. But Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar have given a different interpretation. According to them the *sūtra* applied to /m/ and not to makarakkuṟukkam and /m/ as differentiated from /p/ has a *puḷḷi* inside /p/[14]. It is this *puḷḷi* which is in modern times rounded as the right hand half of /m/. But it is not clear why Tolkāppiyar should mention the form of /m/ whilst mentioning makarakkuṟukkam without any warning that he is speaking of /m/ and not of makarakkuṟukkam. Peruntēvaṉār's interpretation seems to be correct and therefore one may be justified in holding that there was another school of commentators for Tolkāppiyam represented by Peruntēvaṉār at least as old as the eleventh century as against the other school represented by Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.

Tolkāppiyar spoke of short vowels and long vowels,[15] but this author uses these terms to refer to short and long syllables also i.e. to both uyir and uyirmey.[16] He calls the *vargas* as *vari* or line of consonants coming with all the twelve vowels.[17] This is on the basis of the lines of letters probably

14. TE [Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary] 14
15. TE *sūtras* 3 and 4.
16. VC verse 2
17. Ibid

found in books to teach the alphabet. He also uses the term *varkkam* for denoting the complementaries, viz., the homorganic nasals and their respective plosives[18].

Taking advantage of the definition of *toṭarmoḻi* given by Tolkāppiyar, VC gives the definition of kuṟṟiyalukaram in less than seven *cīr* in a verse[19].

VC refers to uyiraḷapeṭai[20] but not to oṟṟaḷapeṭai Perhaps by his time the latter has ceased to be current even in the literary language. It has to be noted that VC is more true to the language of his time than the other later grammarians.

VC also defines kuṟṟiyalikaram[21]. But it is significant that it does not refer to Tolkāppiyar's distinction between *orumoḻi-k-kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *toṭarmoḻi-k-kuṟṟiyalukaram* or to the *orumoḻi-k-kuṟṟiyilikaram* and *toṭarmoḻi-k-kuṟṟiyalikaram* or to the later day ideas about *kuṟṟiyalukara-k-kuṟukkam* or *āyta-k-kuṟukkam*.

Following Tolkāppiyam VC mentions that a + v > av and a + y > ay[22]. But however it does not mention that a + i > ai.

VC mentions the three demonstrative bases as */a/*, */i/* and */u/* as in Tolkāppiyam[23]. But in discussing the interrogative letters */ā/*, */ē/* and */ō/* mentioned by Tolkāppiyar[24], it adds

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18. Ibid
19. Ibid
20. Ibid
21. VC verse 3
22. Ibid
23. Ibid
24. TE *sūtra* 32

that they come at the end of the words[25]. They are really syntactic interrogatives, though the author does not specifically say so. Further VC mentions /*e*/, /*yā*/ and /*ē*/ as occurring initially in words[26]. These are really interrogative bases and therefore should have been considered morphologically.

While discussing about the articulation of consonants the author speaks of *eṭuttal*, *paṭuttal*, *nalital* and *urappal*[27]. It is not clear what these terms stand for, though often some of these terms are identified with the Sanskrit *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*. In Sanskrit they are pitch accents. It is very doubtful whether Tamil had any pitch accent. But these may refer to intonation.

The clusters are taken into consideration; but the author does not enumerate them. He revises the clusters into what may be called geminated consonants and clusters of different consonants. He also speaks of clusters of two consonants and clusters of three consonants[28]. *mūvoṟṟuṭaṉilai* is a term used by Iḷampūraṇar also[29].

He gives the *māttirais* of the various sounds[30]. The only difference between Tolkāppiyam and VC is that /*ai*/ and /*au*/ are given only one and a half *māttirai* each in VC, probably following Avinayam. But even here Avinayam assigns only one *māttirai* under certain circumstances[31].

25. VC verse 3
26. VC verse 4
27. Ibid
28. Ibid
29. See under TE
30. VC verse 5
31. See the chapter on Avinayam.

It has to be noted that the author does not use the specific terms aikārakkuṟukkam and aukārakkuṟukkam though he talks about a special type of /ai/ and /au/ which have only one and a half *māttirai*. It is only the commentator who states, that /ai/ and /au/ mentioned here are *kuṟukkam* 'shortening'[32].

The articulation of sounds is summarised in a single verse[33]. There is reference to the air surging from the navel. It is said to have come into contact at four different places before escaping out as breath. These places are the chest, the head, the throat and the nose. VC mentions the activities of the four organs, the palate, the lip, the teeth and the tongue. All these eight organs are mentioned in Tolkāppiyam, but there, the head, the throat and the chest alone are mentioned in the first group, whilst the teeth, the lip, the tongue, the nose and the palate are mentioned in the second group[34]. The first group is called in the commentary on VC as *iṭam* and the second group is mentioned in terms of organs of articulation. Nothing more is mentioned. But the commentator assigns (1) the chest, (2) the head, (3) the throat and (4) the nose to (1) the plosives, (2) the āytam, (3) vowels [including semi-vowels] and (4) the nasals respectively[35].

The summary way in which the author deals with these topics clearly shows that his interest really lies in *sandhi* which is really the subject matter of this *paṭalam* as it is made clear by its very title.

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32. VC p. 6
33. VC verse 6
34. TE *sūtra* 83
35. VC p. 7

Comparing Naṉṉūl with VC it is very difficult to decide in places where Pavaṇanti agrees with VC, whether he follows VC or a much anterior work which probably VC itself follows. Pavaṇanti while speaking of *kuṟil* and *neṭil* [vowels] does not apply these terms to uyirmey, whereas VC does. But uyirmey is not involved in *sandhi*, and even when uyirmey occurs it is considered either as *uyir* alone or as *mey* alone.

Coming to what VC calls *varkkam* one may find that the word *iṉam* used by Naṉṉūl[36] corresponds to this. But the word *iṉam* is of wider scope; for according to Naṉṉūl not only the plosives and the respective nasals but also the short vowels and their respective long vowels are *iṉam* or related sounds. Naṉṉūl also uses the word *toṭarmoḻi* as VC does in defining kuṟṟiyalukaram, though he does not use *toṭarmoḻi* in that sense later. With reference to /ay/, /av/ etc., Naṉṉūl follows a different school of thought.

Instead of the four *ōcais* mentioned in VC, Naṉṉūl refers only to *eṭuttal*, *paṭuttal* and *nalital*;[37] i. e. *urappal* is not mentioned.

In describing the general articulation of sounds Naṉṉūl follows VC though it does not mention *unti* 'navel'.

With reference to the initial sounds, the language by the time of VC seems to have been changed. The palatal consonants /c/, /ñ/ and /y/ never occurred in the initial position when immediately followed by the short vowel /a/ in the age of Tolkāppiyam[38]. /ai/ and /au/ are already equated with /ay/

36. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 17
37. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 33
38. TE *sūtras* 62, 64 and 65.

and /av/ and therefore they beginning as they do with /a/, also will not allow /c/ to occur initially. This was probably due to the palatalising of /a/ into /e/. By the time of the Caṅkam poetry this has changed and therefore VC finds the palatal in the initial position being followed also by the vowel /a/[39]. To this extent VC differs from Tolkāppiyam and it will be seen that Pavaṇanti here follows VC[40]. With reference to the initial occurrence of /y/ Tolkāppiyam restricts the occurrence only to the place where it is followed by the vowel /ā/[41]. But, in the Caṅkam age foreign words like *yavaṉar 'Greeks'*, *yūpam 'pole–yagña'* have flowed in. Therefore VC speaks of /y/ occurring in the initial position, not only followed by /ā/ but also by /a/, /u/, /ū/ /ō/ and /au/[42]. Here it may be pointed out that the earlier writers on prosody have shown some of these occurrences. Pavaṇanti follows these earlier writers. In other respects Naṉṉūl and VC agree with Tolkāppiyam. This is made clear in the chart attached at the end of this chapter.

VC mentions the sounds occurring in the final position of a word. Amongst the final vowels he omits /e/ and /o/[43]. Tolkāppiyar does not so omit. He refers to the word *no* but this probably in the later days was pronounced as *nō*. As far as /e/ is concerned even Tolkāppiyar states that it will not occur after a consonant but only after a vowel [i. e. as the second member of an aḷapeṭai] The vowel clusters have ceased to have a place in Tamil. The aḷapeṭai had already

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39. VC verse 7
40. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 47
41. TE *sūtra* 65
42. VC verse 7
43. VC verse 8

become, except in some cases, a single lengthened long vowel. But in spite of this Naṉṉūl prefers to follow Tolkāppiyam and therefore retains certain archaic forms.

Amongst the nasals Tolkāppiyam mentions five as occurring finally i.e. all the nasals except the velar[44]. But even in Tolkāppiyam there is only one word ending in the palatal nasal and two ending in the dental nasal. *uriñ* has become *uriñcu* or *uriñu*; *verin*, came to be spelt with an alveolar nasal, *porun* has also ceased to be current in that form. Therefore VC mentions only the alveolar, labial and the retroflex nasals as finals[45]. But Naṉṉūl prefers to follow the archaic usage as mentioned in Tolkāppiyam[46]. But Pavaṇanti cannot be said to be true to the pronunciation of his age.

According to Tolkāppiyar all the six semi-vowels can occur at the end of a word[47]. The old forms [*av*], [*iv*], [*uv*] and [*tev*] have ceased to be current, perhaps, even immediately after the Caṅkam age and therefore VC omits /*v*/ in his list of final consonants[48]. But Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam[49]. From what has been stated here, it will be clear that VC is to be preferred than Naṉṉūl when one wants to get a picture of the language as current of the time of the later grammarians.

VC proceeds to discuss the *sandhi* or *puṇarcci* where the final sound of the antecedent word and the initial sound of

44. TE *sūtra* 78
45. VC verse 8
46. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 52
47. TE *sūtra* 78
48. VC verse 8
49. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 52

the succeeding word come together. He also contemplates *sandhi* within a word. There will be either a change or no change[50].

The changes are of three kinds and he gives the Sanskrit names *ulōpam*, *ākamam*, and *ātēcam*[51]. These three can occur in the initial, medial or final positions of Sanskrit words. In this way one will have nine kinds of changes (above 3×3).

VC next discusses the privative /*na*/ which when coming before a vowel becomes /*an*/ and before a consonant becomes /*a*/[52]. He describes the *guṇasandhi* and *vriddhi sandhi* which are useful for explaining the formation of *taddhita* forms and noun forms derived from *dhātus*[53]. These are applicable only to the Sanskrit words; but in the age of VC a number of Sanskrit words flowed into the Tamil language. It is this language one should have in view.

He deals with glides which occur when the final sound of a word and the beginning sound of the next word are vowels. Tolkāppiyar does not insist on the glides. He states that the occurrence of glides will not be considered ungrammatical[54]. After /*i*/, /*ī*/ and /*ai*/ comes /*y*/, after other vowels comes /*v*/. This is what Iḷampūraṇar has also stated. But VC adds that after /*ē*/, /*y*/ or /*v*/ may come and here VC is followed by Naṉṉūl[55]. At the end of this *sūtra* about glide,

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50. VC verse 9
51. VC verse 10
52. VC verse 11
53. VC verse 12
54. TE *sūtra* 140
55. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 107

VC adds an omnibus rule which according to the commentator will explain the loss of words or syllables or vowels or consonants[56]. It will be thus seen that these grammarians are more anxious to state the rules rather than attempt to classify or explain these changes, by giving all the required environments. As already stated the author of VC in his anxiety to summarise the *sandhi* rules does not specify all the necessary environments.

But VC is important as a correct reflection of the language of its age. There are two kinds of changes which are important in this way. One is the palatalization of /*n*/ as the author seems to suggest, whenever it is preceded by the palatal /*i*/, /*ī*/, /*ai*/ or /*y*/[57].

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} -i \\ -\bar{i} \\ -ai \\ -y \end{array}\right] \; n- > \tilde{n}-$$

The process of palatalization is mentioned in Naṉṉūl[58] but it must be mentioned that Naṉṉūl does not give /*i*/ and /*ī*/ as the environments.

There has been a tendency in the language to dentalise /*ñ*/ so much so many old /*ñ*/s appeared as /*n*/. Certain palatal nasals must have continued in the dialects in spite of the change in the literary dialect. In this age, if we were to believe VC the dentalisation did not take place when the palatal nasal was preceded by /*i*/ and /*ī*/, /*ai*/ and /*y*/. But in

56. VC verse 13; See the commentary also under this *sūtra* (p. 11)
57. VC verse 15
58. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 69

the later age this restriction did not apply. Even words which survived with /ñ/ in the literary dialects like *ñāyiṟu* "sun" became dentalised into *nāyiṟu*, in some regional dialects. This interpretation that what was originally changed into /n/ is forced upon us because of forms like *ñakaram* etc., occurring in inscriptions for what appear elsewhere as *nakaram* etc. But this is not the interpretation suggested by VC, since it looks at these changes not from the point of view of the regional dialects but from the point of the literary dialect.

The other rule described suggests the potential merger of /ḻ/ and /ḷ/. This is suggested by the elaborate rules given by VC applying all the rules applicable to /ḷ/ endings to /ḻ/ endings[59].

Rules applied to *ḷ*	Extended to *ḻ*
Sūtra 15	
i) *-ḷ] [t- > -ṭṭ-*	*-ḻ] [t- > -ṭṭ-*
ii) *-ḷ] [t- > -ṭṭ- > φṭ*	*-ḻ] [t- > -ṭṭ- > -φṭ-*
ḷ+t → ṭ[ṭ]	*ḻ+t → ṭ[ṭ]*
Sūtra 16	*Sūtra* 18
i) *-ḷ [n- > ṇ*	*-ḻ [n- > -ṇ*
ii) *-ḷ [m- > ṇ*	*-ḻ [m- > -ṇ*
iii) *-ḷ [P- > -ṭ*	*-ḻ [P- > -ṭ*

59. VC verse 15

APPENDIX I

Chart showing the sounds which occur initially as noted by the three authors.

Sūt. No.	*Vīracōḻiyam*		Sūt. No.	*Tolkāppiyam*		Sūt. No.	*Naṉṉūl*	
7	*a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12	59	*a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12	47	*a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12
,,	"*Āviyaṉaittum....*"		,,	*Paṉṉī ruyiru moḻimuta lākum*		,,	"*Paṉṉī ruyirum....*"	
,,	*k+a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12	61	*k+a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12	,,	*k+a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12
,,	*c+a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12	62	*c+ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, o-, ō-*	9	,,	*c+a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-, o-, ō-, au-*	12
,,	*t+* Ibid.	12	61	*t+a-, ā-, i-, ī-, u-, ū-, e-, ē-, ai-. o-, ō-, au-*	12	,,	*t+* Ibid.	12
,,	*n+* Ibid.	12	51	*n+* Ibid	12	,,	*n+* Ibid.	12
,,	*p+* Ibid.	12	61	*p+* Ibid	12	,,	*p+* Ibid.	12
,,	*m+* Ibid.	12	61	*m+* Ibid	12	,,	*m+* Ibid.	12
,,	*v+a-, ā, i-, ī-, e-, ē-, ai-, au-*	8	63	*v+a-,ā-,i-,ī-,e-,ē-,ai-,au-*	8	48	*v+a-,ā-,i-,ī-,e-,ē-,ai-,au-*	8
,,	*y+a-, ā-, u-, ū-, ō-, au-*	6	65	*y+ā*	1	49	*y+a-, ā-, u-, ū-, ō-, au-*	6
,,	*ñ+a-, ā-, e-, o-*	4	64	*ñ+ā-, e-, o-*	3	50	*ñ+a-, ā-, e-, o-*	4
						51	*ṅ-* when preceded by i) *a-, i-, u-* (demonstratives) ii) *yā-* } interrogative iii) *e-* } and when followed by [*a-*]	

APPENDIX II

Chart showing the sounds which occur finally as noted by the three authors.

Sūt. No.	*Vīracōḻiyam*	*Sūt.* No.	*Tolkāppiyam*	*Sūt.* No.	*Naṉṉūl*
	Nasals		Nasals		Nasals
8	*–ṉ*	78	*–ṉ*	52	*–ṉ*
	–m	”	*–m*	”	*–m*
	–ṇ 3	”	*–ṇ*	”	*–ṇ*
			–ñ		*–ñ*
			–n 5		*–n* 5
	Semi-vowels		Semi-vowels		Semi-vowels
”	*–y*	”	*–y*	”	*–y*
”	*–r*	”	*–r*	”	*–r*
”	*–l*	”	*–l*	”	*–l*
”	*–ḻ*	”	*–v*	”	*–v*
”	*–ḷ* 5	”	*–ḻ*	”	*–ḻ*
		”	*–ḷ* 6	”	*–ḷ* 6
	Vowels		Vowels		Vowels
”	*–a*	69	*–a*	”	*–a*
	–ā		*–ā*		*–ā*
	–i		*–i*		*–i*
	–ī		*–ī*		*–ī*
	–u		*–u*		*–u*
	–ū		*–ū*		*–ū*
	–ē		*–e*		*–e*
	–ai		*–ē*		*–ē*
	–ō		*–ai*		*–ai*
	–au 10		*–o* (with *n–*)		*–o* (with *n–*)
			–ō		*–ō*
			–au 12 (with *k–*)		*–au* 12 (with *k–*)
					–ɯ 1 (kuṟṟiyalukaram)
	18		23		24

APPENDIX III

The following is a comparative chart showing the *sandhi* rules found in VC, Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl. Short notes have been given in the respective columns regarding the statements made by Tolkāppiyam and Pavaṇanti. In addition to these some remarks have been made regarding the position taken by Naṉṉūl in the third column. The following abbreviations are used: V=any vowel; V̄=long vowel; V̌=short vowel; N=any nasal; N_1=Homorganic nasal; P=plosive; Sv=semi-vowel;][stand for environments; S=*sūtra*.

	(1) *Vīracōḻiyam*	(2) *Tolkāppiyam*	(3) *Naṉṉūl*
S. 13	(i) *Vowel endings* *-i*, *-ī*, *-ai*][V– will get *-y-* as glide	S. 141 (But not specifically mentioned)	S. 107; Follows VC
	-V] [V– will get *-v-* as glide (–V=other than the above three)	,,	,,
	-ē] [V– will get both *-v-* and *-y-* as glides. No examples are given for *-ai* ending by the commentator. *e.g.* *avaṉē* + *aṟintāṉ* > *avaṉē-y-aṟintāṉ* *cē* + *aṭi* > *cē-v-aṭi*	,,	,,

	(1)	(2)	(3)
S. 15	-*i* / -*ī* / -*ai*]] *n*- > *ñ*- *kavi* + *naṉṟu* > *kaviñaṉṟu* *tī* + *naṉṟu* > *tīñaṉṟu* *paṉai* + *naṉṟu* > *paṉaiñaṉṟu*	Not stated	S. 69. But restricts to -*ai* and -*y* endings.
S. 20	-V]P- > PP∼NP	NP is restricted only to the names of the trees	S.110. NP rule in 111 (trees) 120, 123, 137, 145
	palā + *kāy* > *palā-k-kāy* *viḷa* + *kāy* > *viḷa-ṅ-kāy*	S. 218, 230, 244, 261, 279	
S. 21	-*ɯ*[V- > ϕ *nākɯ* + *aritu* > *nākariu*	Not stated.	S. 164; Follows VC
	-NP*ɯ*[N∼S*v* > -PP*ɯ* *curumpɯ* + *nāṇ* > *curuppɯnāṇ* *karumpɯ* + *vil* > *karuppɯvil*	S. 415	S. 184
	-NP*ɯ*[V- > -PPϕ- > -PPV- *kaṉṟɯ* + *ā* > *kaṟṟā*		
	-NP*ɯ*]P_1- > -P_1P_1- *kuraṅkɯ* + *kāl* > *kurakkɯ-k kāl*	S. 415	S. 181, 182 and 183
	-C]*ɯ*[V- > ϕ *katavɯ* + *aḻakitu* > *katavaḻakitu*	Not stated.	S. 164; Follows VC

	(1)	(2)	(3)
S. 24	*–V̌]ñ– > –ññ–* *a + ñālam > aññālam*	S. 206 (stated as *cuṭṭu*)	S. 158; (*kuṟilvaḻi*)
	–V̌]n– > –nn– *a + nūl > annūl*	„	
	–V̌]m– > –mm– *a + maṇi > ammaṇi*	„	
	–V̌]v– > –vv– *a + vaḷai > avvaḷai*	S. 207	S. 108 and 103
	–V̌]y– > –vy– *a + yāṉai > avyāṉai*	„ Tolkāppiyar stated (*v*) not only for *–y* and *v–* but also to the words which begins with V– (S. 208)	„ Follows Tolkāppiyam
	(C)V̌C*ā* > (C)V̌C*a* + *u* (The glide has to be assumed by the rule 13) *nilā + katir > nilavu-k-katir*	S. 235; As a poetic usage.	S. 117; As an optional poetic usage.
S. 25	*–am*[V– > *ā*φ *maram + aṭi > marāṭi*	S. 312. Restricts the environments only to the initial vowels *a–* and *ā–* in the coming words.	Not stated. (cf: 212)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	-am[(CV)- > *ā*φ *kōṇam* + *kōṇam* > *kōṇākōṇam*	Not stated.	”
	*-a*C > *ā*]V-φ *kuḷam* + *āmpal* > *kuḷāmpal* The author does not mention that the -C should be *m*; perhaps he will take *maram*~*maraṉ*	”	”
	(C$_1$)V(C$_2$)C$_2$*um* > (C$_1$)V(C$_2$)C$_2$*m* if C$_2$ is *l*/*ḷ* > *ṉ*/*ṇ* In some cases the penultimate vowel will be lost. But he does not mention the environments. It applies to the form *ceyum*. *pōlum* > *pōṉm* *maruḷum* > *maruṇm*	Reference is made in *collatikāram*; there also the loss of *-u* is not stated.	S. 65 and 286
	Consonantal endings		
S. 5	-C+V > -CV-	S. 139	S. 149
S. 14	*-ṇ*]*t*- > *ṭ*- *maṇ* + *tītu* > *maṇṭītu* *-ṇ*]*n*- > *ṇ*- *maṇ* + *naṉṟū* > *maṇṇaṉṟu*	S. 151 ”	S. 182 ”

	(1)	(2)	(3)
S. 22	-ṇ]P- > -ṭ *ciṟukaṇ + kaḷiṟu >* *ciṟukaṭkaḷiṟu*	S. 303	S. 154
S. 19	-m[P- > -P- *maram + kuraṅku >* *mara-k-kuraṅku*	States that $m > \phi$ and the following P will double S. 311	S. 164; as in Tolkāppiyam
	-m[ñ-/n-/m- > -φ *tām + ñālattār >* *tāñālattār* etc.	Not stated.	S. 164
S. 20	-ṉ]n- > ṉ- *poṉ + naṉṟu > poṉṉaṉṟu*	S. 150	S. 182
	-ṉ]t- > ṟ- *poṉ + taṇṇitu > poṉṟaṇṇitu*	„	„
S. 22	-ṉ[P- > -ṟ *poṉ + takaṭu > poṟṟakaṭu*	S. 333	S. 153
S. 14	-y, -r, -ḻ] [P- > -PP- ~ -NP- *nāy + kāl > nāy-k-kāl* *tēr + talai > tēr-t-talai* *pūḻ + cevi > pūḻ-c-cevi* etc.	S. 358 (*y*), 363 (*r*), 384 (*l̤*)	S. 169; follows VC in grouping these three sounds.
S. 17	-y]n- > ñ- *cey + niṉṟa > ceyññiṉṟa*	Not stated.	S. 69

	i) *-l[n- > n- > -ṉ* *kal + naṉṟu > kaṉṉaṉṟu*	S. 368	S. 172
	ii) *-l[*P*- > -ṟ* *kal + kuṟai > kaṟkuṟai*	S. 367	S. 172
	iii) *-l][y- > -liy-* *vēl + yātu > vēliyātu*	Not stated.	Not stated.
	iv) *-l + t- > -ṟṟ* [Really a combination of (ii) and (v)] *kal + tītu > kaṟṟītu*	S. 350	S. 182
	v) *-l]t- > ṟ-* *tōṉṟal + tīyaṉ > tōṉṟaṟīyaṉ*	„	„
	vi) *-l[m- > -ṉ* *nel + muṉai > neṉmuṉai*	S. 368	S. 172
	vii) *-l[t- > ṉ* (e.g. not given)	Not stated.	Not stated.
S. 28	*-l] [t > °°ṟ* This is optional in the place of rule (iv); but does not specify that *-l* should be preceded by a short open syllable. *kal + tītu > ka°°ṟītu*	S. 370	S. 173
S. 15	*-ḷ] [t- > -ṭṭ-*	Not stated.	Not stated.
	-ḷ] [t > -ṭṭ- *pāḷ + tīmai > pāṭṭīmai* *nāḷ + tīmai > nāṭṭīmai*	S. 151 and 397	S. 172 and 182

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	-ḻ [t- > φ and t- > ṭ- *pāḻ + tīmai > pāṭīmai*	Not stated.	Not stated.
S. 18	-ḻ [P- > -N ~ -ṭ *pāḻ + cey > pāṇcey* *tamiḻ + col > tamiṭcol*	,,	,,
	-ḻ [n- > φ; n > ṇ *pāḻ + naṉṟu > pāṇaṉṟu*	,,	,,
	-ḻ [m- > ṇ *pāḻ + mēlatu > pāṇmēlatu*	,,	,,
S. 22	-ḻi [V- > φ > ṭ *nāḻi + uri > nāṭuri*	S. 241; The environments are clearly stated.	S. 119
S. 16	-ḷ [P- > -ṭ *muḷ + kuṟai > muṭkuṟai*	S. 397	S. 172
	-ḷ [n-/m- > -ṇ *muḷ + naṉmai > muṇṇaṉmai* *muḷ + muṉai > muṇmuṉai*	S. 398; included ñ- also.	S. 172; as in Tolkāppiyam
	(C)V̄-] ḷ [t- > ṭ > φ; (after t- > ṭ)	S. 161	S. 174
S. 28	-ḷ [t- > -°° *muḷ + tītu > mu°°ṭītu*	S. 400	S. 173 (when preceded by a short syllable)
S. 14	$(C_1)\check{V}$] C_2 [V- > -C_2C_2- *kal + aritu > kallaritu*	S. 161; environment is not given.	S. 150
S. 24	-ṭ- > -ṇ-	S. 289; poetic usage. i) *vēṭkai* [*avā > vēṭφ* ii) *vēḷ* ṭ [*avā* > -ṇ-	—

1.4. NĒMINĀTAM AND NAṈṈŪL

1.4.1 *Nēminātam* TEXT

1.4.11 The Author, his age: The author of Nēminātam according to its commentator is Kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar[1]. This book was named after Nēminātar, the twenty-second Jain *Tīrttaṅkara.* According to the commentary on Vaccaṇanti mālai, a treatise on prosody, Kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar is also the author of that book which was named after his teacher Vaccaṇanti[2]. We learn therefore that the work was composed during the reign of Tiripuvaṉatēvar whom we know as Kulōttuṅka III[3]. Pavaṇanti also lived in his reign. But in Tamiḻ nāvalar caritai we get a statement that a verse was sung by Oṭṭakkūttar which was taken down then and there to his dictation by Pērāciriyar Nēminātar[4]. That Nēminātar must have been a disciple of Oṭṭakkūttar. It is not clear whether Kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar is in any way connected with Pērāciriyar Nēminātar. It is for consideration whether this Kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar composed this work Nēminātam to commemorate the memory of his grammar-teacher Nēminātar, and whether he composed Vaccaṇantimālai to commemorate the memory of another teacher, Vaccaṇanti, his teacher of Pāṭṭiyal. But it has to be admitted that the commentator of Nēminātam as stated above gives a different reason for this name Nēminātam.

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1. Nēminātam p. 2
2. Vaccaṇantimālai p. 5
3. Ibid p. 6
4. Tamiḻ nāvalar caritai pp. 111 and 112.

1.4.12 Scheme of *Nēminātam* – A comparison: Nēminātam follows Tolkāppiyam in its Collatikāram as is clearly proved by the sub-divisions therein. The Ciṟappu-p-pāyiram with reference to Collatikāram also praises Nēminātam as the boat sailing across the ocean of Tolkāppiyam which surrounds the island of *Col*[5]. But as far as eḻuttatikāram is concerned it follows Vīracōḻiyam to a great extent. But there are also significant points of difference from VC. The author however follows even the order of VC in mentioning the rules. He also follows it in referring to the letters in the alphabet according to the number of the place they occupy therein[6]. Sometimes he slavishly follows VC. The final consonant and the initial vowel become syllabic letters. This is a *sandhi* rule. But VC mentions it in the very beginning whilst discussing the *māttirais*[7]. Nēminātam also does so[8]. Probably both the authors feel this is not really a rule of *sandhi* because except in the script form nothing happens in their pronunciation. This follows the definition of uyirmey and therefore they state it whilst mentioning the *māttirais.*

Having already studied VC it will not be necessary to deal with in detail the treatment of the subjects in Nēminātam where the latter agrees with VC. The points raised and elucidated in the commentary on Nēminātam will be discussed at the end of this chapter, separately, for, the commentator must certainly belong to the age later than that of Nēminātam.

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5. Nēminātam – Introductory verse No. 2
   "*tolkāppiya-k-kaṭaliṟ coṟṟipa-c- cuṟṟaḷakka-p-palkāṟ-koṇ ṭ-oṭum paṭak-eṉpa*"
6. Nēminātam verse 1
7. VC verse 5
8. Nēminātam verse 4

1.4.13 Grouping of sounds: In discussing the commentary on YK it was found that it classifies the various sounds mentioned in the text into two groups and reference was made to Nēminātam and VC for proving that one of the groups refer to the letters in the Tamil alphabet. Nēminātam, read with its commentary further strengthens this suggestion, but with a difference. We have already learnt that āytam is called *naṭu* or *iṭai*. Nēminātam also refers to the first group as *mutal vaippu* and on that basis the commentator calls the other group *iraṇṭām vaippu*[9]. But in *mutal vaippu* or the first group, only the vowels, āytam and consonants are included and syllabic letters are not included therein, as is done in the commentary on YK.

1.4.14 Contents - Comparison: The first verse in Nēminātam follows the first verse in VC referring to the twelve vowels, āytam and eighteen consonants. Nēminātam gives the total number of this first group as thirty one. It mentions the three sub-divisions of the consonants; but as the commentator points out, it does not say what they are, unlike VC[10]. The short vowels and the long vowels are taken by Nēminātam, to refer only to the sub-division within the twelve vowels, whereas VC extends that sub-division to all the syllabic letters or uyirmey. Every one of the consonants occurring with twelve vowels will have five short syllables and seven long syllables. Nēminātam gives the total number of these syllabic letters as two hundred and sixteen[11]. The respective nasals and plosives are called as in

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9. Nēminātam p. 7
10. Nēminātam p. 6
11. Nēminātam verse 3

VC, *varkkam*[12]. Whilst VC refers only to uyiraḷapeṭai, Nēminātam refers also to oṟṟaḷapeṭai as is made clear by its commentary[13]. [but see below]

The fourth verse defines kuṟṟiyalikaram and kuṟṟiyalukaram almost following the very words of VC. What VC states in two different sentences are compounded in one in Nēminātam. VC refers to /*ai*/ and /*au*/ which are included among vowels as having only one and a half *māttirai* unlike other long vowels which have two *māttirais*[14]. But VC though giving the same *māttirais* does not refer specifically to the name shortened /*ai*/ and shortened /*au*/. Nēminātam points out in addition that /*ai*/ and /*au*/ get shortened initially, finally and medially in a word[15]. Here it probably follows the writers like the commentator of Y who gives examples for the medial and final occurrences of /*au*/, though these words are all from Sanskrit. The makarakkuṟukkam is explained only when *sandhi* rules are mentioned, for instance in verse 11. But even there as in VC, the /*m*/ is said to be shortened when it occurs finally in a word and is followed by another word beginning with /*v*/. It does not mention the clustering of another nasal with the final /*m*/.

The fifth verse allots the *māttirais* for various sounds. Here Nēminātam refers to āyta-k-kuṟukkam and makara-k-kuṟukkam. These two are not mentioned in VC in this place. The environment where the /*m*/ is shortened to one-fourth of the *māttirai* is mentioned later in verse 19.

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12. Ibid
13. Nēminātam p. 7
14. VC verse 5
15. Nēminātam verse 4

Nēminātam forgets to give the *māttirai* for oṟṟaḷapeṭai. This raises a doubt whether Nēminātam is after all referring to oṟṟaḷapeṭai in verse 3. The wording there is "*aḷapeṭaikaḷ colloṟṟi nīṭṭattokum*". The commentator interprets *oṟṟattokum* as referring to oṟṟaḷapeṭai, and *nīṭṭattokum* as referring to uyiraḷapeṭai. But *oṟṟutal* may refer to the combination of the long vowel and the short vowel which according to Tolkāppiyar form the aḷapeṭai[16]. Taken in this sense Nēminātam like VC may not have referred to oṟṟaḷapeṭai. But what is favourable to the commentator is the word *aḷapeṭai-kaḷ*[17], the plural which therefore may refer to uyiraḷapeṭai and oṟṟaḷapeṭai.

The sixth *sūtra* refers to the articulation of sounds. Here also Nēminātam follows VC. The only difference is that it calls the breath as *utāṉaṉ*. In the Govindaraja Mudaliyar's edition, the term *nā* 'the tongue' is omitted in this verse[18]. In the third line, the *cir* must be *āciṉā* [*ācil*+ *nā*] instead of *ācil*.

The seventh verse mentions the sounds occurring initially in a word. Here also VC is followed. As already said in the study of Avinayam, Naṉṉūl includes the initial occurrence of the velar nasal[19]. It has been pointed out that Nēminātam does not follow Tolkāppiyam in this place. According to the latter work /c/ occurs in the initial position followed by

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16. TE *sūtra* 41
17. Nēminātam verse 3
18. Nēminātam verse 6
19. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 47

vowels except /a/, /ai/, and /au/[20]. But according to Nēminātam (following VC) it occurs followed by all the vowels[21].

All the authors agree that /v/ does not occur initially with four vowels viz., /u, ū, o, ō/ which are labials[22]. The palatal nasal /ñ/ according to Nēminātam occurs only with three vowels which are according to Tolkāppiyam[23], /a/, /e/ and /o/. Here therefore Nēminātam follows Tolkāppiyam and not VC which admits that /ñ/ can occur in the initial syllable followed by /a/[24]. Nannūl as already pointed out follows VC which is true to the changed structure of the language[25].

With reference to the initial occurrence of /y/ VC contemplates its occurrence with /a, ā, u, ū, ō/, and /au/[26]. Nannūl here also follows VC[27]. But Nēminātam refers only to three vowels, and the commentator explains them as /ā, ū/ and ō[28]. This is not according to Tolkāppiyam which admits only one vowel /ā/[29]. However it is true to the Caṅkam usage where we have the words *yavaṉar*[30] and *yūpam*[31]. On the basis of

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20. TE *sūtra* 62
21. Nēminātam verse 7
22. TE *sūtra* 63; VC verse 7; Nēminātam verse 7; Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 48
23. TE *sūtra* 64
24. Nēminātam verse 7
25. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 50
26. VC verse 7
27. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 50
28. Nēminātam p. 15
29. TE *sūtra* 65
30. Puṟanāṉūṟu 56.18
31. Patiṟṟuppattu 67.10

this usage one has to differ from the commentator and interpret the three vowels occurring with /y/ as /a/, /ā/ and /u/.

The eighth verse states that nine vowels can occur finally, as against VC which mentions ten vowels including /au/ in the final position. Nēminātam does not accept the final occurrence of /au/[32]. Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl admit the rest which are not included in VC, viz. /e/ and /o/[33].

Amongst the nasals, Naṉṉūl admits the occurrence of all the nasals except /ṅ/[34], Nēminātam and VC according to the changed structure of the language of their times admit only /ṇ/, /m/ and /n/.

Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl admit the occurrence of all semivowels in the final position[36], but VC and Nēminātam do not consider /v/ as occurring in the final position.

The ninth *sūtra* refers to what VC had already mentioned in its 3rd *sūtra* viz., *a* + *v* > *av*; *a* + *y* > *ay*.

It also states that /e/ and /o/ and all the consonants receive *puḷḷi* in their script form. This is mentioned in Tolkāppiyam, Naṉṉūl and VC[37]. Nēminātam adds that when followed by the palatals /c/, /ñ/ and /y/ in the initial position or in the medial position /a/ freely varies with /ai/. This is

32. Nēminātam verse 8
33. TE *sūtra* 71 and 72; Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 52
34. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 52
35. Nēminātam verse 8; VC verse 8
36. TE *sūtra* 78; Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 52
37. TE *sūtra* 15, Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 43, VC verse 3

probably considered by Nēminātam as 'equivalent sound' or *pōli*. This is important because a *sūtra* to this effect is found in Nannūl[38]. But the commentator on Nēminatam quotes a *sūtra* from an earlier author whose name however is not given i.e., '*a, ai mutal iṭai okkum orōvaḻi*'[39].

1.4.2 THE COMMENTARY ON *Nēminātam*.

1.4.2.1 Scheme - Phonology : The commentary on Nēminātam will now be considered in relation to Nannūl, for the commentator either adds to or elucidates the points mentioned in the text of Nēminātam. The first statement of the commentary is about the scheme of *eḻuttatikāram* in Nēminātam. A verse called *ciṟappu-p-pāyiram* prefixed to Nēminātam states that *eḻuttatikāram* gives us the number of sounds, their names, their order, their quantity, their articulation, their written form and their *sandhi*. The commentator also states that the author discusses eḻuttatikāram or phonology under these seven heads.[40] In our study of Avinayam it has been pointed out that this scheme is that of Avinayaṉār. The commentator points out that there are others [presumably Iḷampūraṇār and others] who discuss this subject under eight or more topics and therefore raises the question as to why this book should deal only with seven topics. His answer is that the topics could be brought within the seven topics. Further he quotes Avinayam as an authority for this scheme.

What is important is that the commentator writes that the author of Nēminātam himself states that his scheme is to

38. Nannūl *sūtra* 69
39. Nēminātam p. 18
40. Nēminātam p. 2

deal phonology under the seven topics.[41] This will suggest that the *cirappu-p-pāyiram* mentioned is by the author himself. Often the *cirappu-p-pāyiram* is considered as the part of the work though written by others and as a result what is mentioned in *cirappu-p-pāyiram* is attributed to the author of the work. For instance what is stated in the *cirappu-p-pāyiram* to Tolkāppiyam is often attributed to Tolkāppiyar himself.

1.4.2.11 Following Avinayam? But it is very doubtful whether Nēminātam follows Avinayam. *Sūtras* 1, 2, 3 and 4 deal with number, name and order of sounds. *Sūtra* 5 deals with quantity. *Sūtra* 6 deals with articulation. *Sūtra* 7 lists the sounds occurring initially in a word. *Sūtrā* 8 lists the sounds occurring finally. *Sūtra* 9 deals with *pōli* and also with the written form. *Sūtras* 10 and 11 deal with Sanskrit word formation. The rest of the chapter deals with *sandhi.* The Sanskrit word formation is brought under *sandhi.* It will be thus seen that instead of restricting himself to seven topics he deals with the distribution of phonemes and *pōli.* It will be thus clear that Nēminātam follows Tolkāppiyam rather than Avinayam. The 'distribution of phonemes' is probably brought under the topic 'name' by the commentator, the name being *īrreḻuttu* and *moḻikku munneḻuttu.* See the statement by the commentator: *moḻikku īrām eḻuttukkaḷatu peyar vērupāṭu uṇarttutal nutalirru*'. As far as the written form is concerned Nēminātam does not mention that of uyirmey. Nēminātam refers to the written form of *puḷḷi* [or the consonant], the short /*e*/ and the short /*o*/. The *pōli* is treated in the same *sūtra* which treats the written form. So also the *pōli* is

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41. "*innūl uṭai-y-ār ēḻu vakaiya enru collavēṇṭirru*"

considered as a free variation in writing though the commentator states that this *sūtra* is referring to *eḻuttu-p-pōli* which may also mean the free variation of sounds.

1.4.2.2 Grouping of letters: Reference has been made to the *mutal vaippu* or the first group consisting of the vowels, āytam and the consonants. The syllabic letters which are also found in books on Tamil alphabet are spoken of by the commentator as *iraṇṭām vaippu* or the second group. The commentator quotes a *sūtra* for pointing out that the term *mutal vaippu* is sufficiently old. The *sūtra* is in *veṇpā* metre and therefore is quoted probably from *Nālaṭi nāṟpatu eṉṉum puṟaṉaṭai* or *Avinaya-p-puṟaṉaṭai*[42].

As far as the technical terms *valliṉam*, *melliṉam* and *iṭaiyiṉam*, the commentator refers to the phrase *toṉmai muyaṟciyāṟ ṟokku* "that is grouped together on the basis of the usually referred articulation of each of the group." He further explains that *valliṉam*, the 'hard' group is like placing the fingers on a stone, that *melliṉam*, the 'soft' group is like placing the fingers on the sands and *iṭaiyiṉam* is like placing the fingers on clay. According to this interpretation *iṭaiyiṉam* is that which is neither soft nor hard. The commentator gives the list of sounds belonging to this group[43].

1.4.2.3 Syllabic letters. He points out that the syllabic letters [cv̌] are two hundred and sixteen in number, as a result of multiplying twelve vowels with eighteen consonants and for this purpose he quotes a *sūtra* which has been discussed as occurring in Palkāyam[44].

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42. Nēminātam p. 5
43. Ibid p. 6
44. Nēminātam p. 7

1.4.2.4 *Aḷapeṭais*: The uyiraḷapeṭai is described as in YV and also only in the commentary. The commentator quotes Tolkāppiyam for uyiraḷapeṭai. But the number of uyiraḷapeṭai is given as twenty eight, i.e. the seven long vowels multiplied by the four positions of their occurrence, viz., in monosyllabic occurrences and initial, medial and final in non-monosyllabic occurrences. For the oṟṟaḷpeṭai also the commentator gives the same kind of explanation[45]. The eleven sounds, as mentioned in YV undergo lengthening either after a short syllable or after double short syllables.

1.4.2.5 **Shorter /*u*/ and shorter /*i*/**: As already seen, in describing kuṟṟiyalukaram Nēminātam uses the word *toṭarmoḻi* and the commentator quotes Tolkāppiyam to explain the term *toṭarmoḻi* as consisting of three or more letters[46]. With reference to the kuṟṟiyalikaram the text says that this will occur when followed by a word beginning with /*y*/. It is the commentator who states that the kuṟṟiyalukaram in such a place will disappear and become the short /*i*/[47]. There are three views regarding this kuṟṟiyalukaram, viz. [1] that is lost [2] that it is there acting like a consonant to combine with the following vowel and [3] that it is altered into some other vowel. Iḷampūraṇar holds the second view. The commentator of Nēminātam follows the first view. Naṉṉūl follows the third view, which as we have already seen is held by YV.

1.4.2.6 **Shortened /*ai*/ and /*au*/**. Though the *sūtra* in Nēminātam mentions /*ai*/ and /*au*/ becoming shortened initially, medially and finally it is significant that the commen-

45. Ibid
46. Ibid p. 9
47. Ibid p. 10

tator does not give examples for the medial and final occurrences of /*au*/.

1.4.2.7 *Māttirai*: The Nēminātam text gives one and a half *māttirais* for shortened /*ai*/ and shortened /*au*/. But the commentator states that the shortened /*ai*/ sometimes has only one *māttirai*. He quotes a *sūtra* for this position. This *sūtra* also is in *veṇpā* metre, and is perhaps from *Avinaya-p-puraṇaṭai*[48].

No *māttirais* are assigned for oṟṟaḷapeṭai. But the commentator quotes the *sūtras* mentioned in YV for this oṟṟaḷapeṭai. He also quotes the *sūtras* for *māttirai*, a *sūtra* which as it stands at present is probably a combination of Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra* and Caṅka yāppu *sūtra*. The commentator also quotes the *sūtra* beginning with "*uṉṉal kālē*", which describes the duration of the fractions of a *māttirai*. But he raises the question as to how one can know that aikāra-k-kurukkam and aukāra-k-kuṟukkam are having one and a half *māttirais*[49]. He gives the examples *kaṭa*, *kaṭā* and *kaṭai* where the /*-ṭa*/ in the first word has one *māttirai* duration, the /*-ṭā*/ in the second word has two *māttirais* whilst /*-ṭai*/ has more than one *māttirai* but less than two *māttirais*. What, however, one has to note here is that as already stated /*ai*/ in the initial position has one and a half *māttirais* and elsewhere it has only one *māttirai*. According to this, the cited /*-ṭai*/ must have only one *māttirai* duration. The only explanation for this discrepancy can be, that though the commentator quotes other authors like Avinayam, he prefers to follow Nēminātam which prescribes one and a half *māttirais* for the /*ai*/ no matter in what position it occurs. Naṉṉūl does not follow this view.

48. Ibid p. 11
49. Ibid

1.4.2.8 Articulation: In describing the articulations a distinction is often made between the place of articulation and the articulatory effort i.e. *muyar̲ci.* Effort is attributed to the articulator as is made clear in VC. The eight parts of the vocal organs are thus divided into two divisions of three and five parts each -- the chest, the head and the throat are called by the commentator *mutal iṭam*, 'the primary places (of articulation)'; and the tongue, the palate, the lips, the teeth, and the nose are described by him as *tuṇai iṭam* 'auxiliary places (of articulation)'[50].

1.4.2.9 Distribution of phonemes: In the *sūtras* describing the distribution of the phonemes, often the text does not mention the details or the particulars. These are all however clearly stated in the commentary. It is the commentator who again points out that the restriction about the distribution does not apply when the sounds themselves are mentioned. He quotes Tolkāppiyam. He points out that the consonant /r/ begins the *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam [*kiḷaviyākkam - sūtra* 7]. His explanation is that the /r/ refers to itself as a sound and occurs with the vowel /a/. He raises the question whether the sound /r/ may not be denoted in combination with other vowels. He answers in the negative and the reason given by him is that the written forms of other syllabic letters will completely vary too much from the script form of the consonant /r/[51].

Nēminātam speaks of *uyirmey ir̲u* [*ir̲u* = *ending*] as *uyirir̲u.* For explaining this, the commentator quotes Tolkāppiyam. If the uyirmey is analysed, first will come the

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50. Ibid p. 12
51. Ibid p. 15

consonant, next will come the vowel and therefore uyirmey is really an ending in a vowel. He also gives another reason which shows that in the syllabic letter the vowel alone will be important. He states that when a person wants a sword he does not speak of the sheath and when sword is to be brought, he orders the sword to be brought, though he intends the sheath also to be brought[52]. Similarly according to the commentator the text speaks of *uyir* even when it wants to signify *uyirmey iṟu* [*sūtra* 8].

In listing the sounds occurring finally in a word, /o/ has been omitted by the author, but the commentator explains that its occurrence has been suggested by an extra word in the *sūtra*[53].

1.4.2.10 **Free Variation:** The free variation of /a/ and /ai/ when followed by the palatals is mentioned in Nēminātam. Naṉṉūl also mentions this. But the commentator adds that these are not of any importance. By importance it is presumed that he refers to a free variation in all places when such environments occur. He quotes a *sūtra* which states that this free variation is found only in some places. It is possible to take the sentence *ivaṟṟuḷ oṉṟuñ ciṟantatillai'* "none of these is important" as referring to all the *pōli*[54]. Iḷampūraṇar and others state that *pōli* should not be accepted[55].

1.4.2.11 *makara-k-kuṟukkam*: It has already been pointed out that Nēminātam does not refer to the makara-k-kuṟukkam in words like *pōṉm*. This is however mentioned by

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52. Ibid p. 17
53. Ibid
54. Ibid p. 18
55. See under TE 54 etc.

the commentator in his commentary on *sūtra* 15. The clustering of three consonants mentioned in Tolkāppiyam is mentioned in this *sūtra*. The commentator states that in words like *pōlum* and *maruḷum* the second /u/ disappears whereafter /l/ and /ḷ/ change respectively into /ṉ/ and /ṇ/ which cluster with the final as /m/ in *pōṉm* and *maruṇm*. He points out that this /m/ is a shortened /m/. He quotes a a *sūtra* which contemplates the shortening of /m/ when following /ṉ/ and /ṇ/[56]. This explanation and the *sūtra* quoted remind us of *sūtras* 96, 114, 120, 227 and 341 in Naṉṉūl.

1.4.2.12 *āyta-k-kuṟukkam*: There is no reference about this in Nēminātam text. But the commentator makes a reference about this and also explains that it occurs in *sandhi*[57].

56. Ibid p. 26
57. Ibid p. 30

APPENDIX

Chart showing the *sandhi* rules given in Nēminātam and the corresponding *sūtras* in VC etc.

	(1) *Nēminātam*	(2) *Vīracōḻiyam*	(3) *Tolkāppiyam*	(3) *Nannūl*
(i) *Vowel Endings*				
S. 13	*–i*, *–ī*, *-ai*] [V– will get –y–as glide	S. 13	S. 141	S. 107
	–V] [V– will get–*v*–as glide	S. 13 (commentator has left /*e*/ and /*au*/	,,	,,
	(The commentator left *–e* and *–o* because the author has already stated that *e* and *o* will not occur in the final position			
S. 14	*–ɯ* [V– > ϕ	S. 21	Not stated.	S. 109
(C) V]	*P¹ɯ* [*P*/*V*/*Se*/*N* > *P¹P¹ɯ*	Not stated	S. 412	S. 183
	kāṭṭɯ + iṭam > kāṭṭiṭam *kāṭɯ + kaḷiṟu >* *kāṭṭukkaḷiṟu* *kāṭɯ + vaḻi > kaṭṭuvaḻi*			

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$C^1V^1C^2V^2$ | P^1ɯ [P/V/Se/N > P^1P^1ɯ *pakaṭu+ēr̲ > pakaṭṭēr* *pakaṭu+kayir̲u > pakaṭṭukkayir̲ɯ* *pakaṭu+vaḻi > pakaṭṭuvaḻi* *pakaṭu+nilai+pakaṭṭunilai* (The commentator states that this gemination will take place only when followed by nouns. According to him it remains unchanged when followed by verbs. But he also admits that this gemination will not take place even when nouns like *kācu*, *kiḻi*, *poti*, *payar̲u* and *tuvarai* followed.	Not stated	S. 412	S. 183 (stated that P^1 is either *ṭ* or *r̲*)
–NP^1ɯ [P/V/N/Se > P^1P^1ɯ *kuraṅkɯ+kuṭṭi > kurakkɯkkuṭṭi* " *+ir̲aicci > kurakkir̲aicci*	S. 21	S. 415	S. 129

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-u [V- > -ϕ ~ -u *katavu+aḻakitu* > *katavaḻakitu.*	S. 21	Not stated.	S. 109
S. 16 -V] P- > PP/NP/P.	S. 20	NP rule is restricted to the names of trees. 218, 230, 244,261,279.	NP rule in 111, 123, 145.
palā+kāy > palākkāy. *mā+kāy > māṅkay.* *ā+koṇṭār > ā koṇṭār.* *kiḷi+kaṭintār >* *kiḷikaṭintār.*		PP rule in 204,205, 216, 217, 222, 223, 226, 231, 236, 237, 240, 247, 250, 253, 255, 256, 260, 265, 269, 275, 277, 281, 286, 290, 293, 296	PP rule is Stated in 110
S. 19 *nā*] *ḻi* [*uri* > *ṭ*ϕ	S. 22	Stated as *nā*] *ḻi* [*uri* > ϕ > *ṭ* (241)	S. 119. As in Tolkāppiyam.
Numbers			
S. 20 (a) V̆- [V- > V̄ (For numbers other than *aintu, eṭṭu* and *oṉpatu*). *oṉṟu+āyiram > ōrāyiram.* *iraṇṭu+āyiram > irāyiram*	cf: 23 (given allomorphs)	S. 455	S. 133 (without the environment)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(b) V̄- [CV- > V̆- *āṟu+nāṉku > aṟunāṉku* *ēḻu+ pattu > eḻupa∘̊∘tu.*	cf. 23 (given allomorphs	S. 441	S. 133
	pattu > pa∘̊∘tu *pattu > pāṉ~paṉ*	S. 23 (Also added *patɯ*, and *nūṟɯ* as allomorphs)	S. 391	S. 140
	pattu+mūnṟu > *patiṉmūṉṟu~paṉmūṉṟu*		*pattu [oṉṟu etc.>* *patϕ+iṉ>patiṉ* *pattu [iraṇṭu>paϕ* *>paṉṉ*	*pattu [iraṇṭu>patϕ* *>paṉ*
S. 23	-*ā [... > a+u > a(v)u*	Stated in 24	S. 235 (as a poetic usage)	S. 117 as a poetic usage and as optional.
	irā [maṉai > ira+u > iravu *ni > niṉ* *ā > āṉ* *mā > māṉ*	Not stated	S. 234. Stated also that *āṉ* will take /*a*/ also thus giving the form *āṉa* (233)	S. 193. added *kō* > *kōṉ*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
cāva > cā *cāva + kuttiṉāṉ >* *cākkuttiṉāṉ*	S. 13	S. 210	S. 114
(ii) *Consonantal Endings*			
S. 4 –C + V– > –CV́– (This refer to the script and not any sound change)	S. 5	S. 139	S. 149
S. 13 –*m* [V– > ϕ + *v* (glide) *mara/m* [*aṭi* > ϕ + *v* > *maravaṭi*	S. 13 but in 25 it is stated as *mara/m* [*aṭi* > ϕ > *mara* + *aṭi* > *marāṭi* *kuḷa/m* [*āmpal* > *kuḷāmpal*	S. 301 and 302 But as –*am* [*a*~ *ā*– > –*ā*ϕ (optional) *mar/am* [*a*~*ā* > *ā*ϕ > *marāaṭi*	S. 164 and 107
S. 15 (C¹) V/C² [V– > –C²C²– *maṇ* + *aḻakitu* > *maṇṇaḻakitu*; *il* + *aṟam* > *illaṟam*	S. 14	S. 161 (Environment is not given)	S. 150
–*y* / –*r* / –*ḻ*] P– > PP/ (noun) NP/ P (verb)	S. 14	S. 358, 361, 362, 363, 364, 384, 388	S. 169

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	ukāy + paḻam > ukāyp paḻam			
	katir + cennel > katirccennel			
	yāḻ + kōṭu > yāḻkkōṭu			
	vēy + kuḻal > vēyṅkuḻal			
	cey + kāttāṉ > ceykāttāṉ			
S. 16	-*ṉ* [C¹ > C¹	cf. 13	cf. 154 and 348	cf. 104
	cāliyaṉ [*taṟi* > *cāliyattaṟi*			
	-*aṉ* > *at*	Not stated	,,	,,
	(The commentator takes *iṟu* as a suffix and not as a final letter).			
	caliyaṉ + kuḷam > cāliyar kuḷam			
S. 17	-*ḷ* [P- > *ṭ*	S. 16	S. 397	S. 172
	-*ṇ* [P- > *ṭ*	S. 22	S. 303	S. 154
	-*l* [P- > *ṟ*	S. 17	S. 367	S. 172
	-*ṉ* [P- > *ṟ*	S. 22	S. 333	S. 154
	-*ḷ* [N- > *ṇ*	Stated as -*ḷ* [*n* & *m* > *ṇ* in 16	S. 398	,,
	-*l* [N- > *ṉ*	S. 17 and 22. But he states the environment as *n* and *m*.	S. 368	,,

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-ḷ] *t*->*ṭ*	states as *ḷ*+*t*>*ṭṭ* in S. 15	S. 151	S. 182
-ṇ] *t*->*ṭ*	S. 14	,,	,,
-n̲] *t*->*r̲*	S. 20	S. 150	,,
-l̲] *t*->*r̲*	S. 19	,,	,,
-ṇ] *n*>*ṇ*	S. 14	,,	,,
-n̲] *n*>*n̲*	S. 20	,,	,,
(Commentator states the environments and says that one *ṇ* and *n̲* will disappear)		S. 161 The author admits that in some instances not the final /*l*/ will be lost and states this as an optional.	S. 174
-*l* [P->ϕ } optional -*ḷ* [P->ϕ }			
(The commentator gives the environment.)			

1.5. TOLKĀPPIYAM AND NANNŪL

1.5.1 *Nū<u>n</u>marapu, moḻimarapu* AND *Na<u>n</u><u>n</u>ūl eḻuttiyal*

1.5.1.1 *Nū<u>n</u>marapu.*

1.5.1.1.1 Introduction: Tolkāppiyam is the earliest of the Tamil grammars now available to us. It is written by Tolkāppiya<u>n</u> according to the introductory verse found therein[1]. It is said therein that in the court of *Nilantaru tiruviṟ pāṇṭiya<u>n</u>*, in an assembly of scholars presided over by *Ataṅkōṭṭācā<u>n</u>*, this book was explained at length by the author and approved by that learned assembly. This work belongs to the Pre-Caṅkam period[2] and is generally assigned to the third century B.C. This work consists of three parts viz., *eḻuttatikāram*, dealing with phonology, *collatikāram*, dealing with morphology and syntax and *poruḷatikāram* dealing with poetics and prosody.

It is the first part of the book which is relevent to the present study. This first part consists of nine chapters. The last six chapters deal with *sandhi*. The third chapter deals with the distribution of sounds etc. The first chapter is called *nū<u>n</u>marapu* which explains the technical terms and other conventions used in this work.

1.5.1.1.2 Definition of *eḻuttu*: The first *sūtra* defines *eḻuttu* as "the thirty beginning with /*a*/ and ending with /*<u>n</u>*/

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1. TE p. 2
2. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, *A History of Tamil Language*, p. 51

if the three which are referred to as *cārntuvaraṉ maripiṉ mūṉṟu* are left out". This *sūtra* contemplates a particular kind of arrangement of the Tamil alphabet. It is clear that the arrangement continues to be the same even today except for the āytam which has come to be placed between the vowels and the consonants in this list. This present arrangement goes back to a period earlier than Yāpparuṅkalam which will be found in this respect to follow Avinayam. It is Avinayam, that mentions the Tamil alphabet as consisting of thirty one sounds and not thirty as mentioned in Tolkāppiyam even before Vīracōḻiyam and Nēminātam[3]. Nēminātam therefore calls this thirty one sounds as *mutal vaippu* or "first group"[4]. Naṉṉūl however follows Tolkāppiyam in calling the thirty sounds as "*mutal* (*eḻuttu*)" or primary sounds.[5]

1.5.1.1.3 *Cārpeḻuttu*: The second *sūtra* enumerates the three *cārntuvaraṉ marapiṉa* viz., the shorter /*i*/ the shorter /*u*/ and the āytam. The term *muppāṟpuḷḷi* "three dots" occurs in this *sūtra*. Some including Iḷampūraṇar, will interpret this, to mean that all these three in their written form have the *puḷḷi* or dot whilst others including Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar will interpret it as referring only to āytam whose shape according to them consists of three dots. These three sounds are explained in *moḻimarapu* [the 2nd chapter in Tolkāppiyam] as occurring in particular environments described there. Therefore one may speak of them as combinatory variants. As we have already seen that Yāpparuṅkalam uses the phrase

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3. See the chapter on Avinayam.

4. Nēminātam verse 3

5. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 4

"*cārpiṟṟōṟṟam*"[6]. Naṉṉūl has brought into currency the convenient term *cārpeḻuttu*[7]. That however, extends the use of this term not only to the three sounds mentioned in Tolkāppiyam, but also to seven more sounds, following, in this respect, the usages of authors like Avinayaṉār.

1.5.1.1.4 *Kuṟil* and *neṭil*: The third *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam defines *kuṟṟeḻuttu* by enumerating the five short vowels and also explains the term *kuṟṟeḻuttu* as that which has only one *māttirai* of duration. Similarly the fourth *sūtra* defines *neṭṭeḻuttu* by enumerating the seven long vowels and explains that term as referring to the sound which is of two *māttirais* in duration.

1.5.1.1.5 **Extra-long sound:** The next two *sūtras* are important from a historical point of view. The fifth *sūtra* states that no single sound in Tamil has three *māttirais* in duration. Evidently the author has the Sanskrit *plūta* in his mind and therefore points out that there is nothing corresponding to it in Tamil. However, in the sixth *sūtra* he points out that probably in verses, if metrical exigencies require it, vowel clusters possibly of the long and the short vowels would be combined and pronounced so as to make up the deficiency. So far as the way in which the *sūtras* are phrased, it will show that he is following the older tradition. But the fifth *sūtra*, however, has no reference implied or explicit to any older tradition. Perhaps, the grouping of *cārntu varaṉ marapiṉa* sounds is also his own contribution to this study of phonology, at least, in the way in which he deals with them.

6. Y *sūtra* 2
7. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 5

1.5.1.1.6 *Māttirai*: The seventh *sūtra* proceeds to explain or define the *māttirai* as being equal to a wink of the eye or the snapping of the fingers. This, he adds, is according to the experience of those who are blessed with subtle intellect. There is another reading for this *sūtra* found in the commentaries on YK and Nēminātam but as suggested elsewhere there is a telescoping in those commentaries of two different *sūtras* from two different works.

1.5.1.1.7 **uyir**: In the eighth *sūtra* the author defines *uyir* as "those twelve sounds ending with /au/". Since, as already stated, the author has the arrangement of the Tamil sounds in the alphabet in his mind, one must assume that he is referring to the vowels beginning with /a/.

1.5.1.1.8 **mey**: In the ninth *sūtra* he similarly explains *mey* "the consonants" as "eighteen ending with /ṉ/." i.e., the last letter of the [eighteen] alphabet.

1.5.1.1.9 **Syllabic letter**: The tenth *sūtra* points out that the vowels even when they combine with consonants do not change their nature. The commentators interpret this *sūtra* to mean as referring to the syllabic letters which consist of a consonant and a vowel. According to them such syllabic letters have only the quantity of the vowel therein. That is to say, the consonant therein loses its *māttirai*. The later writers make this position clear but it is not so very clear that Tolkāppiyar had this view in his mind.

1.5.1.1.10 *māttirai* **for consonants and** *cārpeḻuttus*: The eleventh *sūtra* explains the *māttirai* of the consonant as half a *māttirai*. The twelfth *sūtra* states that the other three, evidently the three *cārntuvaraṉ marapiṉa*, as having the same nature i.e., half a *māttirai*.

1.5.1.1.11 About */m/* **and** *makara-k-kuṟukkam:* The thirteenth *sūtra* refers to "*/m/* being reduced to half of its duration, when carefully noted." The next *sūtra* refers to the form which has got an internal dot. The *sūtra* does not say whose form is described herein. Ordinarily the subject of the previous *sūtra* should be the subject of this as well. This is the interpretation which probably the commentator on Vīracōḻiyam will give[8]. But Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, however, feel, perhaps not correctly, that the *sūtra* refers not to makara-k-kuṟukkam but to */m/* as distinguished from */p/*[9].

Having taken up in the fourteenth *sūtra* the question about the written form, the three *sūtras* which follow also refer to the script forms. But one wonders whether the thirteenth and fourteenth *sūtras* should belong to this chapter at all. makara-k-kuṟukkam is also a combinatory variant and according to the scheme of Tolkāppiyam which relegates these variants to *moḻimarapu,* this should not find a place here. As a matter of fact there is a *sūtra* about the shortening of */m/* in *moḻimarapu*[10]. Again there is another *sūtra* in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* about this[11]. It is not clear why this makara-k-kurukkam is treated in this way. One wonders whether these may not be later day additions. The discussion on this as found in Yāpparuṅkala virutti is studied elsewhere. It will be found that some authors, at least, have missed a few of the *sūtras* in Tolkāppiyam. One reason may be that the *sūtras*

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8. See the chapter on Vīracōḻiyam and Naṉṉūl.
9. See under TE *sūtra* 14.
10. TE *sūtra* 52
11. TE *sūtra* 331

were not in the original. Iḷampūraṉar points out that the *sūtra* in *moḻimarapu* refers to the makara-k-kuṟukkam occurring in one word and the *sūtra* in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* refers to the makara-k-kuṟukkam in *sandhi* words. All the three *cārntuvaral* sounds are of this two-fold pattern and both the patterns are described in *moḻimarapu.* If Tolkāppiyar had also the makara-k-kuṟukkam in his mind as contemplated by Iḷampūraṉar he would have described the makara-k-kuṟukkam and its two-fold pattern in *moḻimarapu* itself. Even if these *sūtras* are genuine, the non-*sandhi* makara-k-kuṟukkam will occur only in words like *pōṉm* and not in forms like *kēṇm* etc., as contemplated in Naṉṉūl.[12] But the commentary on Nēminātam, which quotes an old *sūtra*, speaks of makara-k-kuṟukkam in *kēṇm* as well[13]. This opinion about the shortened /*m*/ must have become current. It is also curious that Yāpparuṅkala virutti does not refer to the makara-k-kuṟukkam in *pōṉm* etc.

1.5.1.1.12 Graphemic description

1.5.1.1.121 *Consonant :* The fifteenth *sūtra* states that it is the nature of the consonant, evidently meaning by that the script form, that it should stand with a dot.

1.5.1.1.122 *For /e/ and /o/*: The sixteenth *sūtra* states that the short /*e*/ and the short /*o*/ are similar i. e. they have a *puḷḷi*. According to one interpretation, as already stated, all the *cārntuvaral* letters get a *puḷḷi.*

1.5.1.1.123 *For uyirmey:* The seventeenth *sūtra* gives the script form of the syllabic letters or *uyirmey*. The

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12. See Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 41.
13. Nēminātam p. 26

consonants, when they are without the dot or *puḷḷi,* have to be pronounced as a syllable consisting of a consonant and a short vowel /a/; when the consonant has to be pronounced with other vowels its script form is changed. This *sūtra* refers to the script form; but curiously enough this speaks of *uyirttal.* The last line is: "these are the two ways of their articulation"[14]. The two categories can only refer to the script form. *uyirttal* must probably mean "make as pronounced". Perhaps it is rhetorical rather than scientific. It may be that the form is the "wave form".

Having thus dealt with the script form, Tolkāppiyar proceeds to explain in *sūtra* 18 that the syllabic letters which consist of consonants and vowels should be pronounced so that the vowel is articulated after the consonant.

1.5.1.1.13 About the sub-division : Tolkāppiyar has mentioned the vowels and the consonants and has also given the sub-division of vowels into long and short. One would have expected that the sub-division of consonants should have immediately followed the definition of *mey* at least after the explanation about the *māttirai.* But the sub-division of consonants comes only to be enumerated in the nineteenth, twentieth and the twentyfirst *sūtras.* Therefore Iḷampūraṇar has to explain that Tolkāppiyam defines other technical terms relating to some amongst the consonants themselves[15]. It may be noted that Iḷampūraṇar does not give any such explanation for the sub-division of the vowels into short and long. The *valleḻuttus* are enumerated

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14. "*āyir iyala-v-uyirttal āṟē*"

15. TE p. 11

in the nineteenth *sūtra*, the twentieth enumerates *melleḻuttu* and the twentyfirst the *iṭaiyeḻuttu*. These names, as is made clear by the *sūtras* themselves are traditional names.

1.5.1.1.14 **Clustering:** The *sūtras* twentytwo to thirty, explain the clustering of the consonants. This is really an explanation about the distribution of the phonemes which may be called phonotactics. The distribution occurs medially initially and finally in a word. Therefore the initial and the final occurrences are actually explained only in *moḻimarapu*, the chapter relating to the occurrence of sounds in words. Therefore it is surprising that the medial clustering alone should be explained in this chapter on technical terms. Phonetics is treated in *nūṉmaraपu* and other distribution in *moḻimarapu*. But perhaps Tolkāppiyar is defining two important technical terms, viz., *meymmayakku* "consonantal cluster" and *uṭanilai* "geminated consonant." Taken in this sense the *sūtras* must belong to this chapter on technical terms. *uṭanilai* are long consonants which were often contrast with medial single consonants in Tamil. *meymmayakku* is the clustering of two different consonants. *uṭanilai* is explained in *sūtra* thirty where it is stated that long consonants are possible except for /*r*/ and /*ḻ*/. The term "*meynnilai*" which is occurring in this *sūtra* is important. Iḷampūraṇar interprets it as referring to those serving the purpose of [differentiating] the meaning[16]. It is for consideration whether the author is pointing out that the long consonants contrast with their respective short consonants. The *sūtras* twentythree to twentynine give the varieties of *meymmayakku*, as given below.

16. See under TE 30.

Clusters as given in Tolkāppiyam

	k	*ṅ*	*c*	*ñ*	*ṭ*	*ṇ*	*t*	*n*	*p*	*m*	*y*	*r*	*l*	*v*	*ḻ*	*ḷ*	*ṟ*	*ṉ*
k	*																	
ṅ	*	*																
c			*															
ñ			*	*							*							
ṭ	*		*		*				*									
ṇ	*		*	*	*	*			*	*	*			*				
t							*											
n							*	*			*							
p									*									
m									*	*	*			*				
y	*		*	*			*	*	*	*	*			*				
r	*		*	*			*	*	*	*	*			*				
l	*		*						*		*		*	*				
v											*			*				
ḻ	*		*	*			*	*	*	*	*			*				
ḷ	*		*						*		*			*		*		
ṟ	*		*						*								*	
ṉ	*		*	*					*	*	*			*			*	*

1.5.1.1.15 Thirtyfirst and thirtysecond *sūtras* define by enumeration the technical terms *cuṭṭu* "demonstrative"

[*a*, *i*, *u*] and *viṉā* "interrogative" [*ā*, *ē*, *ō*]. It is not clear why these morphemes should find a place here. They can be justified only by the usage of the technical terms by *cuṭṭu* and *viṉā*.

1.5.1.1.16 Exception: The thirtythird *sūtra*, i.e. the last *sūtra* in the first chapter refers to the sounds including the consonants having more than the quantity mentioned in music. It is not clear what technical term is defined in this *sūtra*. If it refers to an exception to the *māttirais* already mentioned this must have come earlier. Can it be a later addition?

It will be thus seen that Tolkāppiyam, though referring to the *cārntuvaral eḻuttu* so as to define the term *eḻuttu*, restricts itself in *nūṉmarapu* to treat only of the vowels and the consonants and their sub-divisions from the point of view of technical terms. The definition especially of kuṟil and neṭil has to be in terms of *māttirais*; therefore that conception has also to be defined and explained. The syllabic sounds with their script forms are also mentioned. Similarly the script forms of the consonants and the short /e/ and the short /o/ and casually of the *cārntu varal eḻuttu* are also mentioned. The technical terms *meymmayakku*, *uṭanilai*, *cuṭṭu* and *viṉā* are explained.

1.5.1.2 *moḻimarapu*

Tolkāppiyar discusses the distribution of sounds when they occur in words in chapter II called *moḻimarapu*. He has already stated that there are three phones which as we suggested are combinatory variants, viz., the shorter /i/, the shorter /u/ and āytam. Each one of these is further classified

into two as [1] that which occurs in an individual word and [2] that which occurs in *sandhi* [=*taṉimoḻi-c-cārpu* and *puṇarmoḻi-c-cārpu* respectively].

1.5.1.2.1 *Kuṟṟiyalikaram*: *Sūtra* 34 states that "*miyā* is the expletive and the /*i*/ there is a kuṟṟiyalikaram" [occurring within an individual word]. The next *sūtra* (35) states that "in *sandhi* also it occurs; this will be described later". In *sūtra* 411 it is stated "that after a kuṟṟiyalukaram, if a word beginning in /*y*/ were to occur the former /*u*/ will not be completely perceptible and the /*i*/ that comes in that place gets shortened". Evidently the /*u*/ becomes this /*i*/ by assimilation to the following /*y*/.

1.5.1.2.2 *Kuṟṟiyalukaram*: Tolkāppiyar proceeds to define kuṟṟiyalukaram. One must know that in *sūtra* 45 he divides the words into three kinds according to the number of sounds therein. There words are classified into (1) words of one syllable or letter (2) words of two syllables or letters and (3) words of more than two syllables or letters. The name given for the last is *iraṇṭ-iṟant-icaikkum-toṭarmoḻi*. Some people like Naccinārkkiṉiyar will take this term *eḻuttu* to mean a syllable[17] and others as a letter. Whatever it be, this definition helps Tolkāppiyar to explain kuṟṟiyalukaram in an easy way. *Sūtra* 36 states that "kuṟṟiyalukaram occurs finally after (C) V and in an *iraṇṭ-iṟant-icaikkum-toṭarmoḻi* only after the six plosives." The last syllable must be preceded by a long syllable or its equivalent of two *māttirais*. This will rule out its occurrence in words consisting of only two open short syllables. This kuṟṟiyalukaram is divided into six kinds for the purpose of *sandhi* on the basis of the sound

17. Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary under TE 45.

preceding the last syllable. The *toṭarmoḻi-k-kuṟṟiyalukaram* occurring after a long syllable is of only one kind. The five kinds are: (1) that which follows the vowel (no distinction is here made between the long vowel and the short vowel), (2) that which is preceded by the plosive, (3) that which is preceded by the nasal, (4) that which is preceded by the semi-vowel and (5) that which is preceded by the āytam[18]. If there is a cluster before *-Pu*, a doubt may arise, for, there the long consonant or a plosive with its homorganic nasal may be preceded by some semi-vowel. In such a case it will not be considered as a kuṟṟiyalukaram occurring after a semi-vowel. It will be considered only as occurring after a plosive or a nasal[19]. But this word-final kuṟṟiyalukaram, however, according to *sūtra* 409, as interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar, will cease to be thus shortened when it is followed by other words in an utterance. This amounts to saying that kuṟṟiyalukaram will occur only in the utterance final position. This is as far as the kuṟṟiyalukaram in the individual word is concerned. There is a *sandhi*-kuṟṟiyalukaram, where it occurs even when not utterance final In *sūtra* 37 it is stated that "the environment therefore is explained in the chapter on *sandhi* according to the behaviour well realised". *Sūtra* 410 gives the *sandhi* rule. The word-final kuṟṟiyalukaram which is preceded by a plosive does not cease to be such even when it is not utterance final provided it is followed by a word beginning with a plosive. In such an environment it continues to be a kuṟṟiyalukaram. This is the interpretation given by Iḷampūraṇar[20]. Naccinārkkiniyar, however, gives a different

18. TE *sūtra* 407
19. Ibid 408
20. See under TE 409.

reading. By his time, probably, kuṟṟiyalukaram was occurring in all word-final positions. Therefore this shortening when followed by a word beginning with a plosive is interpreted as referring to the further shortening of the already shortened /u/ in the environment mentioned above[21]. This is called by others *kuṟṟiyalukara-k-kuṟukkam* which has got only one fourth of a *māttirai*. Naṉṉūl does not mention this.

1.5.1.2.3 *āytam*: The third *cārpu* is called *āyta-p-pulli*[22]. It occurs after a short syllable and before a plosive. As already noted many words with āytam end in a kuṟṟiyalukaram though as pointed out by Iḷampūraṇar, there are a few words like *ve°°kāmai* "absence of desire" where it occurs even when they do not end in kuṟṟiyalukaram. *Sūtra* 38 thus defines the occurrence of āytam in individual words. *Sūtra* 39 states, though not specifically, that this will occur even in *sandhi*. But there are three *sūtras*[23], which refer to the occurrence of āytam by way of *sandhi*. These three are important. A word ending in /l/ or /ḷ/ or /v/ if preceded by a single short syllable gets its ending changed into āytam when followed by a word beginning with /t/ in the first two cases and beginning with any plosive in the third case. In all these cases the two words coming together should not be in the relation of a declinable or declined word followed by another word. Therefore āytam occurs where there is a pause after the word. It is a morphophoneme as is made clear by *sūtra* 39. There are certain onomatopoetic

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21. TE, Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary p. 315
22. TE *sūtra* 38
23. TE *sūtras* 370, 380 and 400.

words which are of rare occurrence and which denote colour or sound. The āytam there is not pronounced as short i.e. of only half a *māttirai.* This āytam does not behave like the other consonants. This is important because it is said "that this āytam is not a letter"; but it is only a symbol[24]. But later day writers have taken this āytam as an independent sound. There is one important *sūtra* quoted in Yāpparuṅkalavirutti which was already mentioned. According to this *sūtra* there are people who held this āytam to be another consonant; but however, *oṇ-tamiḻ-nātar* "the master of brilliant Tamil" held that the āytam instead of being a consonant was only a sign showing that the tongue becomes weakened[25]. If we notice that *muஃṭitu* "the thorn is bad" and *kaஃṟītu* "the stone is bad" are the variants of *muṭṭitu* and *kaṟṟītu* it is easy to realise how the plosive which is produced by the closure of the tongue becomes a fricative formed by the weakening of the tongue so as to allow the breath to escape with a friction.

1.5.1.2.4 *aḷapeṭai:* Here follows two *sūtras* which refer to the occurrence of the uyiraḷapeṭai already hinted in *nūṉmarapu.* It is not clear why *sūtra* 41 should not be there in *nūṉmarapu* instead of *sūtra* 6. "Whenever there is a deficiency in a word from the point of view of metre the long vowel will occur followed by its corresponding short vowel to make up the deficiency". This is *sūtra* 41. But among the seven vowels already stated /*ai*/ and /*au*/ do not have the corresponding short vowels. Therefore *sūtra* 102 proceeds to mention that /*i*/ will go along with /*ai*/ and /*u*/ with /*au*/ for

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24. TE *sūtra* 40; "*eḻuttiṉ iyalā*"
25. See the chapter on Y....

making up the metrical deficiency. All the *sūtras* herein mentioned viz., 6, 41 and 42 contemplate metrical exigencies. But *sūtras* 222, 226 etc., contemplate vowel clusters rather than metrical exigencies. The later day writers therefore speak of *iyaṟkaiyaḷapeṭai* "natural *aḷapeṭai*" and *collicaiyaḷapeṭai* "which occur with the word" as contrasted with metrical or *iṉṉicaiyaḷapeṭai* "euphonic *aḷapeṭai*". But in any case it is difficult to explain why Tolkāppiyar, who provides for natural vowel clusters, should speak only of metrical exigencies. These *sūtras* [viz. 6, 41 and 42] look suspicious especially when the place in which they occur does not seem to be proper.

1.5.1.2.5 Classification of words: After having explained the combinatory variants, Tolkāppiyar proceeds to discuss the words from the phonological point of view. *Sūtra* 45 as already stated divides the words into three categories. The seven long vowels form words of one syllable. But all short vowels, do not become complete words as open short monosyllables. Here also it is not quite clear why *sūtras* 43 and 44 should not follow *sūtra* 45.

In writing, as Tolkāppiyar does, a book on grammar one has to refer to the technical terms and to their usage. The consonant since it cannot be made into a word denoting its name /a/ is added to that consonant so as to make it syllabic and the syllable becomes the name for the consonant therein. In this way each short syllable becomes a name for the consonant therein, overriding the order to a certain extent in such cases. Taken in this sense, *sūtra* 46 has its proper place in *moḻimarapu*.

1.5.1.2.6 Clusters: *Sūtras* 47, 48, 49, 50 and 51 deal with clusters These probably show that the clusters treated in

nūṉmarapu could have been placed in this part of *moḻimarapu* itself. *Sūtra* 47 relates to the technical usage when the syllables become the names of the consonants therein. They are used as words but as such words they will not be following the restriction with reference to the phonemes. Therefore the restriction with reference to clustering will not also hold good as far as these are concerned. Similarly *sūtra* 66 states that the rules about the initial occurrence of phonemes will not apply to these[26].

1.5.1.2.7 **Clustering of three consonants:** In *nūṉmarapu*, only the cluster of two consonants was contemplated. But there are cases where there is a cluster of three consonants where a long consonant or a plosive with its homorganic nasal is preceded by /y/, /r/ and /ḻ/[27]. The question is raised by Naccinārkkiniyar whether this clustering should relate to individual words only or to compounds and phrases undergoing *sandhi* changes. According to him this refers to individual words only. In that case it should be difficult to give examples for /y/, /r/ and /ḻ/ followed by all the nasals /ṅ/, /ñ/, /n/, /m/ and /ṉ/ in individual words as required by Naccinārkkiniyar. But in describing the distribution of phonemes, morphophonemic alternation or *sandhi* rules also should be taken into consideration and it is not clear why Naccinārkkiniyar should object to this.

There is one other restriction stated in *sūtra* 49 about the occurrence of /r/ and /ḻ/. In the period of Tolkāppiyam these consonants did not occur after an initial short syllable.

26. According to Iḷampūraṇar TE *sūtra* 77 provides for their final occurrence even in monosyllabic words.
27. TE *sūtra* 48

Since the shortness and length are in terms of duration the *sūtra* 49 will permit the occurrence of /r/ and /ḻ/ after an initial long syllable. Since in Tamil a long syllable is equal to two short syllables, the *toṭarmoḻi* will be equal to a long syllable and therefore /r/ and /ḻ/ can occur at the end of *toṭarmoḻi* or after two *māttirais*.

1.5.1.2.8 *Makara-k-kuṟukkam* : Here follow the two *sūtras* [51 and 52] about the makara-k-kuṟukkam already referred to. In poetry, the word *pōlum* will occur as *pōṉm* where we have a cluster of two consonants viz., /ṉ/ and /m/. *Sūtra* 52 adds that this /m/ after /ṉ/ gets shortened.

1.5.1.2.9 *Pōli*: *Sūtra* 53 states that the sounds already described do not differ whether they are uttered individually or uttered as part of a word. The combinational variants have already been mentioned and they also do not undergo further changes. The phrase *eḻuttiyal* nature of the sound' mentioned in this *sūtra* is interpreted to refer to its māttirai[28]. But there are certain further changes; [1] $a+i>ai$[29] [as in piṟa+i>piṟai], [2] $a+u>au$[30]. *Sūtra* 56 states $a+y>ay$. The commentators interpret these *sūtras* as referring to *pōli*. There is a curious statement in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary that this *pōli* should not be accepted. *Sūtra* 56 according to him however should be accepted. For the purpose of assonance these are important and as already stated even in internal *sandhi* these changes are important. The next *sūtra* 57 refers to /ai/ having only one māttirai duration when analysing some words. In view of *sūtra* 56 one wonders whether there

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28. Iḷampūraṇar's Commentary under TE 53.
29. TE *sūtra* 54; piṟa "to be born", piṟai "crescent moon"
30. Ibid 55

is a place for *sūtra* 57. It is true according to *sūtra* 56 [*ai* = *a* + *y*] it will be long by position. But in metrical exigencies the /*y*/ will disappear. Perhaps it is this which is contemplated in *sūtra* 57.

Sūtra 58 states that in the final position /*i*/ and /*y*/ freely vary. This also is to be taken as *pōli*, for, this refers really to the final /*i*/ becoming a consonant in a word. Therefore all these are cases where the sounds already described undergo some changes when pronounced within a word.

1.5.1.2.10 Distribution - initial and final : The *sūtras* 59 to 66 deal with the initial occurrence of phonemes, 69 to 81 deal with the final occurrence of the phonemes and the last *sūtra* 82 mentions the confusion of /*m*/ and /*n̲*/ in non–superior nouns[31].

1.5.1.3 *Tolkāppiyam and Nan̲n̲ūl eḻuttiyal:*

One may now compare Tolkāppiyam *nūn̲marapu* and *moḻimarapu* with *eḻuttiyal* in Nan̲n̲ūl which treats about the topics contained in those chapters in Tolkāppiyam. The articulation is separately considered in this treatise though treated in *eḻuttiyal* in Nan̲n̲ūl.

1.5.1.3.1 *Nan̲n̲ūl's* **arrangement :** Nan̲n̲ūl does not follow this kind of arrangement, though in effect there is not much difference except with reference to the number of *cārpeḻuttus* admitted by Nan̲n̲ūl. The comparison of Nan̲n̲ūl with other works including Tolkāppiyam has been dealt with elsewhere with reference to *kur̲il, neṭil, vali, meli, iṭai, māttirai* and also *uyirmey*. One has to come back to this comparison while discussing *cārpeḻuttus*.

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31. For a detailed comparison see 1.5.1.3.182.

1.5.1.3.11 *eṇ* **"number of sounds"**: In later time it was accepted as an analytical way of teaching any subject that one should give first the major topics or major divisions of a subject, then enumerate the sub-divisions under these major heads and finally enumerate all that will come under the sub-heading. This was spoken of as giving the *tokai*, *vakai* and *viri*. All these are given in Naṉṉūl under the title *eṇ*. One has to point out that this book, begins with the various heads under which the phonology is to be made[32]. This *sūtra* has nothing corresponding to it in Tolkāppiyam and therefore one should trace it to other sources[33]. In *sūtra* 3 it defines the speech sounds and states that the sounds are of two kinds viz., '*mutal*' and '*cārpu*'. *Sūtra* 4 gives the gross number of the sounds. As already stated the distinction is as old as Tolkāppiyam. The term '*mutal eḻuttu*' is equally old. But the name *cārpu* or *cārpeḻuttu* is a beautiful coining by Pavaṇanti. The previous writers have used cumbrous phrases such as "*cārntu variṉ allatu tamakk-iyalpila*" [by Tolkāppiyar] and the much later term which is not so long as that viz., "*cārpiṟṟōṟṟatteḻuttu*". The nominalisation of Tolkāppiyar's phrases or the other phrases into *cārpeḻuttu* has come to stay. The word *cārpu* has become the shortened form of *cārpeḻuttu*. In the age of Tolkāppiyam *cārpu* denotes the immediate environment. Later it has come to denote the sound in that environment. Hence one gets a shift in meaning.

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32. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 2

33. For a detailed discussion of this see the chapter on "The Commentary of Iḷampūraṇar and Naṉṉūl" in this book.

Though the distinction between *mutal* and *cārpu* is old, the particulars included within these two categories come to differ in the course of the history of the Tamil language. Tolkāppiyar included the vowels and the consonants alone under the category of *mutal eḻuttu*. On the basis of the written alphabet an attempt was made to include āytam in this group, for instance in Nēminātam and Vīracōḻiyam. It was also seen that the commentator of YK tries to include the *uyirmey eḻuttu* in this group.

Coming to the list of *cārpeḻuttu* or the second group distinguished from the vowels and consonants we find these varying from time to time. In the following table is the connected picture for the purpose of comparison.

Of course all of them had not used the term *cārpeḻuttu* for all these. But as this has been already discussed there is no necessity to further elaborate this point.

A chart showing Naṉṉūl's classification of sounds is also attached herewith.

Naṉṉūl's Classification of Sounds.

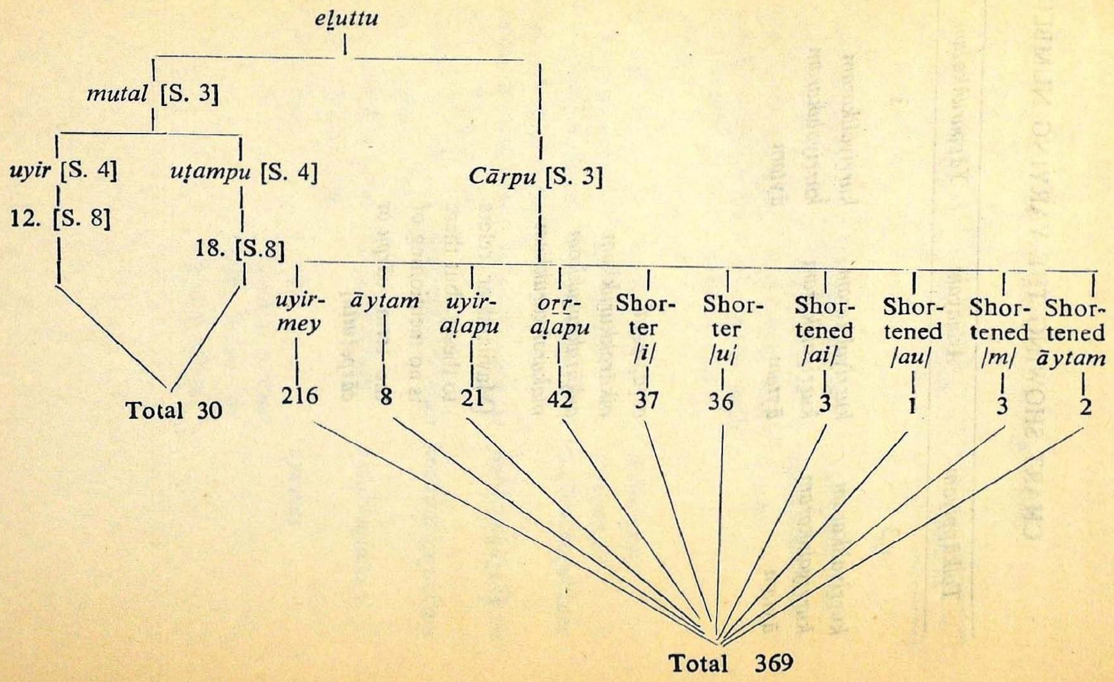

CHART SHOWING THE VARYING NUMBER

Tolkāppiyam	*Avinayam*	*Yāpparuṅkalam*
3		3
kuṟṟiyalikaram *kuṟṟiyalukaram* *āytam*	*kuṟṟiyalikaram* *kuṟṟiyalukaram* *āytam*	*kuṟṟiyalikaram* *kuṟṟiyalukaram* *āytam*
	oṟṟaḷapeṭai *aikārakkuṟukkam* *aukārakkuṟukkam* *makarakkuṟukkam* [Mayilainātar refers to these; but there is no mentioning of the term *cārpu* or *cārpeḻuttu*]	

OF CĀRPEḺUTTUS FROM TIME TO TIME.

Vīracōḻiyam	*Nēminātam*	*Naṉṉūl*
		10
kuṟṟiyalikaram	*kuṟṟiyalikaram*	*kuṟṟiyalikaram*
kuṟṟiyalukaram	*kuṟṟiyalukaram*	*kuṟṟiyalukaram*
[The author includes āytam between the vowels and consonants.]	[The author includes āytam with *mutal eḻuttu*]	*āytam*
uyiraḷapeṭai	*uyiraḷapeṭai*	*uyiraḷapeṭai*
makarakkuṟukkam	*oṟṟaḷapeṭai*	*oṟṟaḷapeṭai*
[There is no mentioning of the term *cārpu* or *cārpeḻuttu*; but Vīracōḻiyam refers to certain *cārpeḻuttus*. The commentator gives also /*ai*/ and /*au*/ kuṟukkam.]	*aikārakkuṟukkam*	*aikārakkuṟukkam*
	aukārakkuṟukkam	*aukārakkuṟukkam*
	makarakkuṟukkam	*makarakkuṟukkam*
	āytakkuṟukkam	*āytakkuṟukkam*
	uyirmey [The commentator calls these as *iraṇṭām vaippu*.]	*uyirmey*

1.5.1.3 12 *peyar* **"name of sounds"**: The next topic is name. This is really an explanation of the technical terms. Really speaking the terms *mutal*, *cārpu* already included under the topic "number" should come under the topic "name [of technical terms]". According to Tolkāppiyar's scheme the number becomes a part of the definition of technical terms. But what has been merely mentioned under the topic number in Naṉṉūl is further defined and enumerated under the topic "name". *āvi* [vowels] and *mey* [consonants], are first defined. Taking the vowels, the technical terms relating to them such as *kuṟil*, *neṭil*, *cuṭṭu* and *viṉā* are defined. *cuṭṭu* and *viṉā* are not defined in Tolkāppiyam in this way after *kuṟil* and *neṭil*.

Naṉṉūl defines *cuṭṭeḻuttu* as /a/, /i/ and /u/. He adds the words '*taṉivariṉ*' in *sūtra* 11 evidently referring to the demonstrative bases coming as separable morphemes. But it is for consideration whether this complication is necessary in defining the term *cuṭṭu* and whether this complication does help one in getting rid of the negative prefix /a/ in words like *aṉiyāyam* which have become Tamilised by the time of Naṉṉūl which does not omit to mention rules of Tamilised foreign words. Similarly Naṉṉūl defines the technical term *viṉā*. But here also he goes further and explains the grammatical peculiarity. Tolkāppiyar does not refer to these interrogative bases; probably he refers only to the interrogative enclitics or particles. Naṉṉūl adds the short /e/ and the syllabic /yā/. It also defines their occurrence in *sūtra* 12. /e/ and /yā/ occur initially; /ā/ and /ō/ occur finally and /ē/ occurs both initially and finally. Stated thus it is difficult to hold that Naṉṉūl is merely defining the technical term *viṉā*.

1.5.1.3.13 *inam*: Then are defined *vallinam, mellinam* and *iṭaiyinam*. These have also been already compared with Tolkāppiyar's statement while discussing Avinayam. The mention of the term *inam* necessitates the definition of that term and the explanation of such a name. Pavaṇanti seems to be having in his mind the *sūtra* 41 of Tolkāppiyam which states that the short vowels combine with the respective long vowels in *aḷapeṭai* and that /ai/ and /au/ take respectively /i/ and /u/ as their short vowel or *inam*. All the other sounds in the *mutal eḻuttu* as represented in the written alphabet are grouped by Pavaṇanti into groups of two sounds each[34]. But the summary way in which it is stated will lead us to conclude that /y/ and /r/, /l/ and /v/ and /ḻ/ and /ḷ/ are three distinct related groups. The term *inam* is justified because of the sounds making a group having one or many of the following similarities viz., the place of articulation [*tāṉam*], the method of articulation [*muyaṟci*], quantity [*māttiari*], meaning [*poruḷ*] and form [*vaṭivu*]. Thus is explained the term *inam*.[35] Thus ends that part in Naṉṉūl which deals with the topic "names". It will be seen here that Pavaṇati has not given the names of the *cārpeḻuttus* because he has already given those names under the topic 'number' and also because he is going to explain their articulation in their respective environments – i.e., explanations which will amount to their definition. Here again it is seen how the topics taken up for consideration by Pavaṇanti though on the basis of a tradition are found to be overlapping.

1.5.1.3.14 *muṟai* **"Order of sounds"**: The third topic is *muṟai*, "the order" in which the sounds are mentioned,

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34. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 16
35. Ibid 17

perhaps, in the written alphabet and in grammar. Even Tolkāppiyar had this arrangement of alphabet in his mind in defining the various kinds of sounds. Therefore there is nothing of importance arising in taking this as a separate topic only to say that the sounds are arranged beginning with /*a*/[36]. But probably Pavaṇanti wants to suggest an explanation for this arrangement though not himself giving an exhaustive explanation. He suggests two ideas as basic viz., *ciṟappu* "importance" and *iṉam* "relationship." This aspect will be important when we consider the commentaries on Naṉṉūl.

1.5.1.3.15 *piṟappu* **"articulation of sounds"**: The fourth topic taken by Pavaṇanti for consideration is the articulation of sounds. As far as the articulations are concerned they may be compared with Tolkāppiyar's statements.[37] But Pavaṇanti thinks that the articulation of the *cārpeḻuttus* within their respective environments gives rise to their peculiar articulation and in that way he defines these *cārpeḻuttus* under this topic viz., articulation. The definition of *uyirmey* reminds us of Tolkāppiyar's phraseology. As in Tolkāppiyam, here also *uyirmey* is defined in terms of the script and also of the sound[38]. He does not refer to the two categories of the written form of *uyirmey* [*uyirttal āṟu*] mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. But in addition he mentions the idea of consonant being pronounced before the vowel in *uyirmey* in the same *sūtra*. He also includes in *sūtra* 34 itself, the interpretation of Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra* 10 i.e. that

36. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 18
37. See the chapter on "*Piṟappiyal*" in this book.
38. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 34

the quantity of the *uyirmey* is only that of the *uyir*. The term *uyirmey* is not mentioned in *nūṉmarapu* though it is used in *moḻimarapu sūtra* 60, in *puṇariyal* 107 etc., in Tolkāppiyam. Pavaṇanti mentions that name even in the beginning, i.e. in his *sūtras* 5, 6 and 34. Though in the written form of the syllabic letter, the vowel script is not present, the Tamil name for syllabic letter contains that of both the constituents and its quantity is that of the vowel. In this way he contrasts the form, the name and the quantity in a significant way so as to impress on our mind. The question how uyirmey etc., can be properly called *cārpeḻuttu* will have to be discussed separately. Therefore at this point the comparison between Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl alone need be made.

1.5.1.3.15 Explanation of *cārpeḻuttus*.

1.5.1.3.151 *āytam*: Naṉṉūl explains the *cārpeḻuttu* in the order in which it mentions in *sūtra* 5. Therefore āytam comes for treatment. Here Pavaṇanti quotes the very *sūtra* of Tolkāppiyam defining āytam[39].

1.5.1.3.152 *uyiraḷapeṭai:* Next comes *uyiraḷapeṭai*. But in this *sūtra* [36] Pavaṇanti does not mention the term *uyir* but mentions that *neṭil* or long vowel gets lengthened. He also states that this happens only when there is a metrical exigency. So far, he agrees with Tolkāppiyam. But in the period subsequent to Tolkāppiyam as is made clear by Yāpparuṅkala virutti these *cārpeḻuttus* etc., were numbered in various lists on the basis of their occurrence or environment in a word. Following the later tradition Pavaṇanti

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39. Ibid 35

speaks of the lengthening of the long vowel initially, medially and finally in a word. It has to be noted that here he does not include *taninilai* as a separate kind of occurrence in monosyllabic words, probably following Iḷampūraṇar. Tolkāppiyar, however, clearly states that there is no sound unit which is of three *māttirais* duration. But *sūtra* 44 in Naṉṉūl gives three *māttirais* for *uyiraḷapeṭai*. Even in Tolkāppiyam the long vowel and the short vowel if combined will give the required three *māttirais*. But Pavaṇanti rejects such an interpretation. According to him *uyiraḷapaṭai* of three *māttirais* is one unit. If that were so, he has to explain the written form of *uyiraḷapeṭai*. where the long sound is first written and immediately following that the corresponding short vowel is written. His explanation is that the short vowel is merely a symbol as showing that the previous long vowel has become further lengthened[40]. Therefore he does not accept that a sound or a short vowel is combined with the long vowel as contemplated by Tolkāppiyar in his phrase *kūṭṭiyeḻūutal*[41]. Therefore it is not the short vowel which fills up the metrical deficiency as contemplated by Tolkāppiyar. Tolkāppiyar's age knew of vowel clusters but the subsequent age in Tamil had no place for vowel clusters. Secondly the contact with Sanskrit *plūta* must have influenced the pronunciation of uyiraḷapeṭai as one unit because after all it occurred only in the literary language.

Because of the changed circumstances Pavaṇanti probably interpreted Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra* itself in such a way

40. See his statement "iṉa-k-kuṟil kuṟiyē" in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 36.

41. TE *sūtra* 6

so as to yield his own theory. This is how Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets Naṉṉūl[42]. According to this interpretation, in Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 41 *neṭṭeḻuttu* should be taken as the subject of the verb *icai niṟaikkum.* But if the long vowel will fill up the deficiency, then the second sentence will be *impar otta kuṟṟeḻuttu* i.e. the short vowel follows after that. Though it is not stated that this short vowel is there for the purpose of showing that the long vowel is the *aḷapeṭai,* it has to be understood in that way according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar. But *sūtra* 42 in Tolkāppiyam may be against this. But probably there also *icai niṟaivu* "the filling up of deficieney" has to be interpreted as meaning the symbol of the filling up of the deficiency. Even then *sūtra* 6 in Tolkāppiyam has to be circumvented. There also Naṉṉūl might have interpreted the words *avvaḷapuṭaiya* not as referring to the short vowel but to the required quantity lengthened with reference to the long vowel. Interpreted this way the fifth *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam which states that there is no sound of three *māttirais* duration should be taken to negate only the ordinary sound of three *māttirais* duration and not artificial sounds like *uyiraḷapeṭai* coming because of metrical exigency. But all these represent a very strange interpretation just probably to show that Pavaṇanti is not going against Tolkāppiyam. Though Pavaṇanti has got a great veneration for Tolkāppiyar, in some places he chooses not to follow Tolkāppiyam probably because of the changed condition of the language of his times. The forcible statement *iṉakkuṟil kuṟiyē* is clear evidence for the position that Pavaṇanti is consciously differing from Tolkāppiyam. This is made clear by the earlier commentary by Mayilainātar[43]. Even

42. Naṉṉūl, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's commentary p. 44.
43. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 37.

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar admits at the end that this phrase *iṉakkuṟil kuṟiyē* may amount to Pavaṇanti differing from the school of thought represented by Tolkāppiyar and agreeing with the other school which speaks of *uyiraḷapeṭai* in terms of Sanskrit *plūta*.

1.5.1.3.153 *Oṟṟaḷapeṭai*: *Oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is not stated by Tolkāppiyar and the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 37, as already pointed out, owes its existence to other sources. It had been pointed out that though Tolkāppiyam does not mention *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* here, it mentions it in *ceyyuḷiyal* "chapter on prosody"

1.5.1.3.154 *Kuṟṟiyalikaram*. Kuṟṟiyalikaram is next dealt with. Here Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam in referring to the kuṟṟiyalikaram in-*miyā* and the *sandhi* kuṟṟiyalikaram. The phrase *kuṟaḷ uttiriyikaram*[44] is not in terms of Tolkāppipar's. His wording as already stated is in terms of Yāpparuṅkala Virutti and is probably better suited for explaining the process of assimilation and is also much more economically worded.

1.5.1.3.155 *Kuṟṟiyalukaram*: Kuṟṟiyalukaram is taken up next for explanation. Like Vīracōḻiyam and Nēminātam, Naṉṉūl also follows Tolkāppiyam rather than Avinayam. The *toṭarmoḻi* is divided into five according to Tolkāppiyam and to that extent Naṉṉūl is much more elaborate than Vīracōḻiyam or Nēminātam. If the consonants preceding the final syllable in a kuṟṟiyalukaram word were alone to be stated, it may amount to stating that a word can begin with a consonantal cluster. Therefore he adds that there are other

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44. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 38

sounds preceding this cluster[45]. Pavaṉanti combines here into one, *sūtras* 407 and 36 in Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.1.3.156 Shortened /*ai*/ and shortened /*au*/: The shortened /*ai*/ and the shortened /*au*/ are next explained as occurring in a word. /*ai*/ thus is shortened initially, medially and finally in a word and /*au*/ is shortened only in the initial position. This *sūtra* 40 has already been discussed with reference to Avinayam and other books on prosody. *Sūtra* 57 in Tolkāppiyam speaks of /*ai*/ being shortened though there is no corresponding *sūtra* for /*au*/.

1.5.1.3.157 *makara-k-kuṟukkam*: Makara-k-kuṟukkam has been found to be discussed in three places in Tolkāppiyam; even then it was found that the shortening of /*m*/ after the cerebrel /*ṇ*/ was not mentioned there. A reference to it is found in the commentary on Nēminātam. Pavaṇanti summarises all these *sūtras* in one line though he does not refer to its script form. "When following /*ṇ*/ and /*ṉ*/ and when followed by /*v*/, /*m*/ is shortened[46]. But the /*v*/ is the initial sound of a coming word. This is not made clear in the *sūtra* though with reference to /*ṇ*/ and /*ṉ*/ there are other *sūtras*[47] to make clear the environments in which /*m*/ is shortened.

1.5.1.3.158 *āyta-k-kuṟukkam*: The explanation of āytakkuṟukkam follows. Tolkāppiyar, as already stated, speaks of *taṉimoḻi āytam* and *puṇarmoḻi āytam*. The *sūtra*

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45. Ibid 39. See his statement "*piṟa mēṟṟoṭaravum peṟumē*".
46. Ibid 41
47. Ibid 65

relating to *tanimoli* has been bodily taken from Tolkāppiyam into Nannūl for defining āytam. But since the *puṇarmoḻi āytam* or *sandhi* āytam is treated as āytakkuṟukkam, the other āytam which has already been explained in Nannūl should be taken as *muṟṟāytam* or full sounded āytam. According to Mayilainātar the *muṟṟāytam sūtra* in Nannūl refers only to *orumoḻi* or *tanimoḻi* āytam[48]. But it must be remembered that there are two kinds of *sandhi* rules, one, where the /v/ ending becomes āytam and the other where the /l/ and /ḷ/ endings become āytam and that Nannūl refers only to the latter *sandhi* alone as giving āytakkuṟukkam If Mayilainātar's position that *tani nilai āytam* alone is *muṟṟāytam* is accepted, what happens to the other *sandhi* āytam coming in the place of /v/? The later commentators like Caṅkaranamaccivāyar will interpret that *muṟṟāytam sūtra* as referring to both *tanimoḻi* and *puṇarmoḻi*[49] i. e. all āytam excepting those which are transformations of /l/ and /ḷ/. It may be that the other *sandhi* āytam was not of great importance in the age of Pavaṇanti and therefore he omitted it in this place though mentioning that *sandhi* rule in his *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.*[50] It should be noted that Nannūl does not make any distinction between *tanimoḻi-kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *toṭarmoḻi k-kuṟṟiyalukaram* and unlike others he does not mention the *kuṟṟiyalukara-k-kuṟukkam* "the shortened kuṟṟiyalukaram," whereas others have taken the *sandhi* kuṟṟiyalukaram as the *kuṟṟiyalukara-k-kuṟukkam.* Like Naccinārkkiniyar he does not consider that the kuṟṟiyalukaram can be such only when it is utterance final and not elsewhere. This again shows that by

48. Nannūl, May. p. 36
49. Nannūl, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's commentary p. 43
50. Nannūl *sūtra* 173

the time of Na<u>nn</u>ūl, ku<u>rr</u>iyalukaram must have occurred in all word final positions. Tolkāppiyar also speaks of the /ɯ/ in the word /nuntai/ as a ku<u>rr</u>iyalukaram. Even in the age of Tolkāppiyar this /ɯ/ in this word freely varied with the fully rounded /u/. In the later ages it was pronounced always as a fully rounded /u/. Therefore Pavaṇanti does not say anything about this /nɯntai/ which is referred to in Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 67 and 68.

The conception of *cārpe<u>l</u>uttu* as held by different writers may be dealt with in a connected way, after all other authors are examined in relation to Na<u>nn</u>ūl.

1.5.1.3.16 *uruvam* **"written form"**: The fifth topic dealt with by Pavaṇanti relates to the written form which he calls *uruvam* in *sūtra* 2 and *vaṭivu* in *sūtra* 43. The word *uru* which occurs in *uvamaviyal* of Tolkāppiyam meant colour in the age of Tolkāppiyar [but see *sūtra* 507 where it may mean shape and is distinguished from *vaṭivam* or shape. But that distinction was not followed in a later age and this explains Pavaṇanti's usage. There is nothing illuminating in this discussion of *uruvam*. He states that the script forms are as of old. This certainly cannot be true because we know in tracing the history of the Tamil scripts there have been changes from time to time. The inscriptions bear witness to this fact. Na<u>nn</u>ūl states that the short /e/, the short /o/ and the consonants were written with a *puḷḷi* in an ancient system[51]. Tolkāppiyam gives the same information in *sūtras* 15 and 16.

Pavaṇanti does not mention the *puḷḷi* for ku<u>rr</u>iyalukaram and makara-k-ku<u>r</u>ukkam. Perhaps by his age that custom of writing them with a *puḷḷi* had disappeared. In quoting

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51. Na<u>nn</u>ūl *sūtra* 43

Tolkāppiyam he uses the term *āytappuḷḷi* and in that way it may be taken that he has given the form of āytam also.

The arrangement of the topics, however, has led to certain overlapping. The form of uyirmey letters had already been given following Tolkāppiyam while explaining uyirmey. Therefore he does not mention the form of uyirmey under this special topic he deals with. If he had chosen to be true to his age by refusing to mention the old form of kuṟṟiyalukaram and makarakkuṟukkam, one wonders whether he is true to his times when he refers to the other letters as following the ancient forms. If one has to believe the inscriptions, even the consonants and the vowels /e/ and /e/ do not receive any *puḷḷi.* None of the manuscripts of Pavaṇanti's age have come down to us. But all the manuscripts of a later age confirm only the evidence given by the inscriptions. Perhaps when the children were first taught, these dotted forms were taught and later the dots have been, perhaps, omitted when the children became proficient in reading and writing.

1.5.1.3.17 *māttirai* **"quantity of sounds": The** sixth topic is *māttirai* or quantity of sounds[52]. As already pointed out Tolkāppiyar does not recognise *uyiraḷapeṭai* as one sound. He also does not mention *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* or āyta-k-kuṟukkam or aukārakkuṟukkam. As for the others mentioned in Naṉṉūl, Tolkāppiyam may be interpreted so as to be the authority for Naṉṉūl. For *aḷapeṭai*, āytakkuṟukkam, *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* and aukārakkuṟukkam the authorities whom Naṉṉūl follows with reference to these later sounds have already been mentioned. Here also there is an overlapping in this discussion of the topic on quantity. The quantity of

52. Ibid 44

uyirmey has been mentioned in the *sūtra* on uyirmey. As already pointed out the quantity of *neṭil, kuṟil* are mentioned in Tolkāppiyam while explaining the terms *neṭil* and *kuṟil.* So also with reference to other sounds. He does not deal with the quantity of all sounds in one place. There is nothing wrong in treating the quantity in one place but Pavaṇanti must have mentioned the *uyirmey* here also. Following Tolkāppiyam he defines the term *māttirai* and adds as already noted that this winking and snapping should be natural or involuntary and not conscious or voluntary.[53] That the consonants and vowels exceed the length prescribed for them, is mentioned in Tolkāppiyam in *sūtra* 33. Naṉṉūl mentions it under this topic. Tolkāppiyam makes a distinction between the extra lengthening of the vowels and that of consonants. The former he calls "*aḷapiṟantuyirttal*" and the latter "*oṟṟicainīṭal*".[54] Since he refers to "*icai*" with reference to the consonants they can refer only to such of them which are voiced. They alone can be sung on. This statement itself proves that Tolkāppiyar could not have contemplated the *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* which will be "*oṟṟicai nīṭal*". The phrase "*aḷapiṟantuyirttal*" is also important. It refers to a vowel sounded as one unit beyond the quantity prescribed viz., two *māttirais* for vowels. He has already stated that such extra long vowels were not to be found in the ordinary Tamil of his age. It is not "*kūṭṭi uyirttal*" but "*aḷapirantuyirttal*". He mentions "*uyirttal*" not only with reference to vowel clusters but also with reference to syllabic letters which are really a combination of a vowel and a consonant. Since Pavaṇanti does not treat the *uyiraḷapeṭai* as a cluster but as

53. Ibid 45

54. TE *sūtra* 33

an extra lengthened unit, he does not make this distinction between a vowel and a consonant and also does not use the word *uyirttal.* He uses instead the phrase "*aḷapiṟanticaittal*". Tolkāppiyam mentions only such exceptions in music.[55] He actually mentions *Gāndarva Vēda* when he states "*icaiyoṭu civaṉiya narampiṉ maṟaiya*". But Naṉṉūl adds *viḷi*, "vocative" *paṇṭa māṟṟu* "barter" etc.[56] We had already discussed the authorities Pavaṇanti follows in extending the rule of Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyar mentions *viḷi* in *collatikāram*[57].

1.5.1.3.18 Distribution of Phonemes

1.5 1.3.181 *Initial*: The seventh topic is *mutal nilai*, i.e. the list of sounds occurring as word initials.

Tolkāppiyar states that all the twelve vowels will occur initially. Naṉṉūl also agrees with this in its *sūtra* 47.

But about the initial occurrence of consonants there are some differences between Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl. Tolkāppiyar states that palatal /c/ will not occur initially with the vowels /a/, /ai/ and /au/. But Naṉṉūl admits following Vīracōḻiyam and others that /c/ will occur with all the vowels, because by its time more and more foreign words flowed into Tamil language.

Among the nasals /ñ/ will occur in the initial position when followed by /ā/, /e/ and /o/ according to Tolkāppiyam. But Naṉṉūl adds /a/ also following Vīracōḻiyam in its *sūtra* 50.

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55. TE *sūtra* 33
56. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 46
57. TC, *viḷimarapu sūtra* 36

Among the semi-vowels Tolkāppiyar states that /*y*/ occurs only initially when followed by the vowel /*ā*/. Naṉṉūl following Vīracōḻiyam states that /*y*/ will occur initially with the vowels /*a*/, /*u*/, /*ū*/, /*o*/ and /*au*/ also.

Naṉṉūl adds that /*ṅ*/ also can occur initially. As already pointed out Naṉṉūl follows Avinayam in mentioning this.

Naṉṉūl contemplates /*ṅ*/ occurring in the initial position when probably *ṅaṉam*, has by metanalysis come to be recognised as a word[58]. But this does not occur in any free form. It occurs only in *aṅṅaṉam*, *iṅṅaṉam*, *uṅṅaṉam*, *yeṅṅaṉam* and *yāṅṅaṉam*. According to him, since /*ā*/ etc., could be identified as separate units, the remnant *ṅaṉam* should be taken as a separate word. Tolkāppiyar does not mention /*ṅ*/ as occurring in the initial position.

The original form of words like *aṅṅaṉam* is found as *aṅkaṉam*. Compare the forms *naṉkaṉam* etc. Even *āṅku* occurs as *aṅku*; *āṅkaṉam* etc., came to occur as *aṅkaṉam* etc. *aṅkaṉam* should be split like *naṉkaṉam* [*naṉku+aṉ+am*] into *aṅku+aṉ+am*. At the end of the first millennium A. D., the velar plosives occurring after the nasals came to be also nasalised. This tendency however did not spread except in the Malayalam country. Therefore only these five words mentioned continued in certain areas where they were too frequent to be given up. This may be a correct historical explanation. In the consciousness, however, of the speakers at the age of Naṉṉūl *ṅaṉam* came to be regarded as an independent form occurring only in the limited environment [as a bound form].

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58. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 51.

As in Tolkāppiyam, Naṉṉūl does not mention the occurrence of [*ɯ*] in the word *nuntai* probably because by its time the free variation between /*ɯ*/ and /*u*/ might have been changed.

1.5.1.3.182 Final: The eighth topic is the list of sounds occurring finally in words. Tolkāppiyar mentions that all the vowels except /*au*/ will occur in the final position[59]. He hastens to add that if /*au*/ were to become syllabic with the preceding /*k*/ or /*v*/ it will also occur in the final position.[60] If we examine his scheme we find that even with reference to the eleven vowels he points out the restrictions in their occurrence with only certain consonants. The question arises as to why Tolkāppiyar should in that case isolate /*au*/ alone for this special treatment. Tolkāppiyar had already explained that /*au*/ may be treated as *a*+*u*. Therefore in his age when vowel clusters were allowed, the inclusion of /*au*/ itself in the list is not like the inclusion of other vowels. In the following two roots viz., *kau* and *vau* it may not be possible to identify the /*u*/ as a separate phoneme. Therefore here it will be only a question of different way of phonemicizing. Tolkāppiyar himself speaks elsewhere of the /*au*/ ending [in *Collatikāram sūtra* 281] where it was possible to identify the /*u*/ as a separate phoneme and therefore in such cases could not be stated conclusively as /*au*/ ending. Otherwise it is difficult to understand this restriction in view of the *sūtra* in *Collatikāram*. Otherwise one has to hold that *sūtras* 69 and 70 were probably later day introductions in the place of an original *sūtra* mentioning that all the vowels will occur in the final position. Pavaṇanti, however, had no vowel clusters

59. TE *sūtra* 69.
60. Ibid 70

and had no /au/ ending in his age other than *kau* and *vau*, except in the rare foreign words which as already pointed out he did not admit in his language. Due to the greater contact with Sanskrit, /au/ has found a place in the writing system. Therefore he does not differentiate between /au/ and other vowels along with the restriction in connection with /au/ also in the same *sūtra*[61].

Tolkāppiyar does not recognise the occurrence of /ñ/ not only with /e/, /o/ and /au/ but also with /ē/ and /ō/[62]. Tolkāppiyar treats /ē/ and /ō/ as independent words when occurring as *iṭaiccol*. Therefore he does not look upon them as word finals. By the age of Pavaṇanti they have become enclitics and treated as forming part of the preceding word. Therefore he does not mention any restriction with reference to /ñ/ in the final syllable. Naṉṉūl does not mention any restriction with reference to the occurrence of /n/ and /v/ in the final syllabic letter, for, by his time all the *cāriyais* and the other *iṭaiccols* were treated as part of the word.

But Tolkāppiyar mentions that /n/ and /v/ will not occur followed by /u/, /ū/ in the final syllable[63]. This has created a great problem for the commentators. Iḷampūraṇar points out that the word used in TE *sūtra* is *navilā* "will not occur frequently". He gives the examples *novvu* and *kavvu* as very rare occurrences[64]. *kavvu* being an alternant for *kau* one may accept this argument. *novvu* was probably found in some

61. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 53
62. TE *sūtra* 73
63. Ibid *sūtra* 74
64. See under TE *sūtra* 74

occurrences by Iḷampūraṇar. But he forgets that in Tolkāppiyam one finds many words ending in *-vu* viz., in *kaḷavu* etc. Therefore Naccinārkkiniyar relies upon the interpretation that whenever there is an extra word or an extra meaning in a word it should be taken as a suggestion to the commentator for filling up certain lacuna left purposely by the author. Instead of saying '*illai*' or '*vārā*' "will not come" the author has used the word '*navilā*' "will not occur frequently" with more than necessary significance. He takes it as the suggestion for the commentator to hold that /*vu*/ can occur finally also.[65] It is very difficult to accept that a commentator in accepting the principle of interpretation can take the liberty of converting a negative verb into a positive verb. He is forced to take this liberty because he is evidently wrong in saying that these are of very rare occurrence. Unless one holds that in Iḷampūraṇar's time also the old Tolkāppiyam and other texts avoided final /*vu*/ by either having /*pu*/ or merely /*u*/ occurring in a vowel cluster, it is difficult to understand Iḷampūraṇar's statement that /*vu*/ is rare in the word final position.

Naccinārkkiniyar gives examples for /*ñ*/ occurring with /*a*/, /*ā*/ etc., as *vinai eccam* [p.94] *uriña*; *uriñā*; and *uriñi:uriñī* should be alternant forms; so also *uriñu* and *uriñū*. He does not take *uriñu* as an imperative coming with the *cāriyai* /*u*/. If this is correct one may expect the same vowel (suffix) ending, occurring with the root *porun*. But probably the final /*n*/ of *porun* was lost when the above suffixes came to be added.

Others have suggested that this *sūtra* should be taken to mean that /*u*/ and /*ū*/ will not occur finally with /*n*/ and /*v*/ respectively. This will mean that /*n*/ will not occur with /*u*/

65. TE, Naccinārkkiniyar's Commentary p. 95

and /*v*/ with /*ū*/. For this interpretation we must assume that the *cāriyai* occurring in the final place is not counted by Tolkāppiyar as a word ending. *Sūtra* 289 will give us the form *porunu*. But a root like *kavavu* etc., will occur according to this interpretation. But it will not be possible to remove suffixes also, from the endings contemplated here. Tolkāppiyar looks upon the words with the suffixes as forming one unit. If that were so, the root /*kavavu*/ occurring in the form /*ceyyu*/ must give us the form /*kavavu*/. Therefore even this interpretation cannot help us. The only way out of this difficulty seems to be that in Tolkāppiyar's age the /*p*/ following a vowel or a semi-vowel and followed by a vowel did not become /*v*/. Therefore the forms like /*kaḷavu*/, /*puṇarvu*/ etc., must have been /*kaḷapu*/ and /*puṇarpu*/. But the objection will be that in all the editions and manuscripts one gets only /*v*/ and not /*p*/ in these places. The only reply can be that the change was introduced in the manuscript copies of Tolkāppiyam by a later generation unaccustomed to the older form. In the age of Naṉṉūl the changes uniformly occurred everywhere and therefore he does not mention any such exception, with reference to /*ñ*/, /*n*/ and /*v*/ [Tolkāppiyar in defining kuṟṟiyalukaram has mentioned it as possibly occurring in the word-final position except in the single occurrence in the initial syllable]. Therefore Tolkāppiyam does not specifically mention again kuṟṟiyalukaram in the list of final sounds. But Pavaṇanti does. If he had been consistent he must have mentioned makarakkuṟukkam also occurring in the final position.

1.5.1.3.183 *Uyirmey-initial and final occurrence:* Tolkāppiyar, in *puṇariyal*, states that the *uyirmey* occurring in the final position is a vowel ending. There is no corresponding statement in Naṉṉūl that the initial *uyirmey* should be

taken as a consonantal beginning. But Tolkāppiyar when speaking of the initial occurrence of the consonants has clearly stated that consonants occurring in the initial position are really *uyirmey*.[66] But any way Naṉṉūl instead of mentioning such elucidations in different places mentions it at the end of the topic of the final occurrence of sounds, so that the statement can apply both to the initial and final occurrences. This shows that he has, unlike Iḷampuraṇar and others, read *sūtras* 107 and 60 together, so much so there is no necessity for making any inferences in the commentary about the initial syllable. This *sūtra* 54 in Naṉṉūl therefore corresponds to 60 in Tolkāppiyam, but is much more specific. The uyirmey as already stated is pronounced in such a way that the consonant is heard first and then the vowel. So also in words where a word beginning with a uyirmey will be considered as beginning with a consonant and the word ending in a uyirmey will be considered to end in a vowel. Having said this here, he does not repeat it when he enunciates the *sandhi* rules.

1.5.1.3.184 *Clustering inside a word:* The ninth topic in Naṉṉūl is the clustering inside a word. It is called medial clustering of consonants, but only in the sense above mentioned, for, the clustering of all kinds of sounds as contemplated by Pavaṇanti are applicable to the initial and final position as well to the medial position in a word. Tolkāppiyar describes this in the first chapter on technical terms and he speaks of only the consonantal clusters. Pavaṇanti explains the terms *uṭaṉilai* and *meymmayakku* in *sūtra* 55, following Tolkāppiyam. He introduces another term *uyirmey mayakku*, i.e., the clustering with reference to vowels and consonants,

66. TE *sūtra* 60

only to state that there is no limit to this kind of clustering. He does not refer to the clustering vowels, for the simple reason that the vowel clusters did not occur in his time. The clusters as recognised by Pavaṇanti are given at the end of this chapter in a tabular form. He seems to have arranged the rules starting from the nasals clustering with their respective (homorganic) plosives and finally ends with the clustering of the semi-vowels with other consonants. Of course following the principle of economy he describes other clusters wherever it is possible to club the rules without the necessity to follow the above order in a few cases.

The system of arrangement in Tolkāppiyam is different. Tolkāppiyar deals first with the cluster of plosives; next with the cluster of nasals with homorganic and other plosives and lastly with the cluster of semi-vowels with other consonants. Tolkāppiyam also follows the principle of economy in enunciating the *sūtras*.

Sūtras 56 to 62 deal with these clusters. *Sūtra* 63 deals with the geminated consonants. This corresponds to Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 30. Pavaṇanti also states that /r/ and /ḻ/ do not occur as long consonants, i.e., where we get two consonants with *puḷḷis*. This corresponds to Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 48. In this *sūtra* itself Pavaṇanti mentions the rule that /r/ and /ḻ/ do not occur as consonants with *puḷḷi* after an initial short syllable. This corresponds to Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 49. This is really a case of a restriction on the clustering of a short vowel in the initial syllable with consonants succeeding them and therefore one expects that Pavaṇanti would have dealt with it separately after he had mentioned that there is no limit to such clustering of vowels and consonants. One may also state that the statement about the clusters of three consonants

should have followed that of the other clusters than this statement about the long consonant. Perhaps Pavaṇanti's reason for this is that the "triple clusters", if they may so be called, more often occur with reference to long consonants preceded by /y/, /r/ or /ḻ/. Another reason is that the triple clusters are mentioned separately in Tolkāppiyam *moḻimarapu sūtra* 5 and that Pavaṇanti follows him almost religiously.

Sūtra 65 deals with the clustering of the alveolar or cerebral nasal with the labial nasal. This corresponds to Tolkāppiyam 51 and 52. As already pointed out Tolkāppiyar does not mention the cluster /ṇm/ [in the final position as in "*maruṇm*"].

1.5.1.3.1.9 **Exception:** Next follows the *sūtra* which gives an exception to the rules on the distribution of the phonemes i.e., when the sounds are mentioned, not in other words, but as referring to these sounds themselves, for instance, in grammar. According to this rule the distribution can occur in a different manner with reference to the initial and final position. This *sūtra* 66 in Naṉṉūl corresponds to *sūtra* 47 in Tolkāppiyam with reference to clusters and to *sūtra* 66 with reference to the initial occurrence of sounds. Tolkāppiyar has no special exception to final occurrence though *sūtra* 77 is interpreted in this way. Pavaṇanti does not refer therefore to any exception to the final occurrence of sounds. The exceptions like /ke/ occurring in the final syllable will be treated as a case of clustering of consonants and vowels and therefore the final occurrence need not be specifically stated by Pavaṇanti.

1.5.1.3.1.10 *pōli*: The tenth topic is *pōli* or free variation of sounds Tolkāppiyar has stated in *sūtra* 82 that

'except in nine words, words of more than two letters belonging to *a°°ṟiṉai*, have the /m/ ending freely varying with /ṉ/ ending'. The same thing is stated in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 67. But Naṉṉūl does not refer to the nine exceptions. He does not also mention the term "*toṭarmoḻi*". This cannot be a sound change because it takes into consideration the morphological distinction. If we study the primary pronouns we find that there /ṉ/ denotes the singular in all the three persons. See /ṉ/ in *eṉ*, *niṉ* and *taṉ* and /m/ denoting plural in *em*, *num* and *tam*. This might have been the case at an earlier stage with reference to all nouns. But when the five-fold distinction of gender developed where /ṉ/ came to denote the masculine, the *a°°ṟiṉai* must have lost the old distinction of /m/ and /ṉ/ endings. The /m/ ending could have been preferred to the /ṉ/ ending as the basic *a°°ṟiṉai* form showing the distinction of singular or plural. This could not have occurred with reference to words of frequent occurrence like the nine words mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. In view of all these developments Tolkāppiyar's statement is of importance. In the time of Naṉṉūl all these could not have been suggested to any speaker of the Tamil language. Many words have come in with /m/ ending which do not freely vary with /ṉ/ ending. Only literature preserved a few of the free variations. Therefore Pavaṇanti states that there are a few words which freely vary in that way. This is the free variation in the final position in a word.

Pavaṇanti on the basis of the treatment of free variation by Tolkāppiyam refers to other kinds of variations as well. Certain dialectal changes have taken place and these dialectal forms entered the literary language along with older forms. This gives rise to Naṉṉūl speaking of free variation. As already stated Naṉṉūl follows Nēminātam in its *sūtra* 68.

Sūtra 69 deals with the optional palatalisation of /n/ after /ai/ and /y/ in some places. This is also a dialectal variation, which was very prominent at one time as described in Vīracōḻiyam. It must be noted that Vīracōḻiyam mentions this as a *sandhi* rule[67]. Similarly Tolkāppiyar in the *sandhi* rules provide for the free variation of /y/ and /ñ/ in some places. Some take this as a case of nasalisation of /y/ but perhaps it is possible to take the /ñ/ as the original sound and its losing the nasalisation elsewhere. In any case these rules of Tolkāppiyam were no longer in force at the subsequent period so much so Naṉṉūl has to omit them.

One has to mention that the above *sūtras*, according to some belong to the portion dealing with clusters.

Next follows a *sūtra* which deals with the Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 54, 55 and 56 according to which $a+i$ or $a+y=ai$, $a+u=au$. Naṉṉūl adds $a+v=au$ These are also free variations. When discussing Avinayam, it has been pointed out that according to a different reading $a+i$ or $a+y$ and $a+$ ஃ is also provided for in this *sūtra*. All the commentators take this as coming under the topic *pōli* which may be roughly translated as free variation due to a sound change taking place throughout so as to drive away the old usage or as a dialectal change; others will interpret this as some mistaken way of writing, due to similarity of sounds which should therefore be avoided.

1.5.1.3.1.11 *cāriyais* **for letters :** After this follows a *sūtra* which enumarates the *cāriyais* or empty morphs used with sounds when the sounds themselves are referred to. Tolkāppiyar mentions them rightly in *sūtra* 135 in the chapter

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67. See the chapter on VC in this book.

on *sandhi*. But as far as the consonants are concerned he has stated that they occur with the short vowel /*a*/ whilst denoting themselves. This is stated when he discusses the topic of sounds referring to themselves and occurring as an exception to the rules about the distribution of the sounds[68]. On this basis probably Naṉṉūl groups the other *cāriyais* with this /*a*/ in *sūtra* 71.

Consonants get the *cāriyai*	/*a*/
The long vowels get ,,	/*kāram*/
/*ai*/ and /*au*/ get ,,	/*kāṉ*/
The short vowels and short syllables get the *cāriyais*	/*kāram*/ /*kāṉ*/ and /*karam*/

1.5.1.3.1.12 *Exception*: This chapter *eḻuttiyal* ends with the *sūtra* 72, according to which the sounds even when occurring in a word have all the characteristic features and follow the rules mentioned in this chapter. This corresponds to *sūtra* 53 in Tolkāppiyam. But Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* is interpreted by the commentators as referring only to mãttirais. But this is not justified and Pavaṇanti has rightly interpreted it in a wider sense.

1.5.1.3.1.13 *Rare occurrences*: Tolkāppiyar gives us something more about the words in use in his age. In addition to the defining of the occurrence of sounds he also gives the number of words whose final sounds occur only in a few cases. With reference to the vowels he states that the syllabic final /*cu*/ and /*pu*/ [When they are not kuṟṟiyalukaram] can occur only when the /*cu*/ and /*pu*/ were preceded by an open short syllable[69]. The words have to be therefore of two short

68. TE *sūtra* 46
69. TE *sūtras* 75 and 76

open syllables. There are only two words ending in /*cu*/ viz., *ucu* "wood worm" and *mucu* "langur". Words like *pacu* "cow" are foreign words. It will be thus seen that /*cu*/ is of rare occurrence in such patterns of [*C*]V *Cu*. As for /*pu*/ there is only one word /*tapu*/ which occurs both in ergative and non-ergative meaning. The words ending in /*v*/ are four viz., /*av*/, /*iv*/, /*uv*/ and /*tev*/. It is significant that the form /*ev*/ is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyam because it is only a transform of /*yā*/. Naṉṉūl does not refer to these restricted usages of certain patterns. On the other hand he has enumerated the monosyllabic words. This shows the very limited occurrence of /*v*/ in the final position. As for the other consonants Tolkāppiyam points out that there are only two words ending with /*n*/ viz., *verin* and *porun*. As for as the palatal nasal /*ñ*/ is concerned it occurred only in one word viz., *uriñ*.

Because of more and more of foreign words becoming naturalised there were more words ending in /*cu*/ and /*pu*/ in the age of Pavaṇanti and probably this led him to omit listing them. As for the /*v*/ endings except in ancient phrases for which Pavaṇanti does give *sandhi* rules, they did not occur in the final position to be recognised as such in the language of his times. Similarly the word /*uriñ*/ went out of usage; as for /*porun*/ and /*verin*/ though Pavaṇanti mentions /*porun*/ in the list of his roots just for the purpose of showing that roots ending in /*n*/, it has assumed the form /*poru*/ in his age; /*verin*/ came to be written with an alveolar /*ṉ*/ or went out of usage. These are the reasons for Pavaṇanti not mentioning these words though he has chosen to give a new list of monosyllabic words occurring in Tamil.

1.5.2. PIṞAPPIYAL

1.5.2.1 *Tolkāppiyam*

1.5.2.1.1 General description of articulation: The third chapter in *eḻuttatikāram* deals with *piṟappu* the 'birth' of sounds i.e., the articulation of sounds. The navel refers to one of the plexus of the nervous system according to the ancient Indian theory. The energy surging up from there finally takes the form of the breath. It is this breath that is converted into various sounds by the action of the vocal organs. This breath or energy is called *muntu vaḷi*[1]. Tolkāppiyar states that "the upsurging breath starts from *unti*. It then reaches three basic places [and the sounds are therefore formed in three ways]. The teeth, the lip, the tongue, the nose and the palate come into operation in the final articulation of the sounds. In all therefore there are eight organs participating in the articulation of sounds. In that order or state of affairs the sounds become characterised by these eight organs. The organs take various forms [according to the particular sound produced] when the speaker, after having analysed the usage, utters consciously [i.e. without making any mistake in unconscious or hurried speech] all the sounds. If we see through our mental vision of analysis the articulation manifests itself in various characteristic features which differentiates one sound from the others". This is in a way the substance of the first *sūtra* in piṟappiyal.

1.5.2.1.11 Places of articulation - *Vaḷi*: The *sūtra* refers to the *vaḷi* as resting and starting from three places viz.,

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1. TE *sūtra* 83; it is called *utāṉa vaḷi* in Nēmiṉātam. (verse 6.)

the head, the throat and the chest. Therefore the commentator speaks of *talai vaḷi, miṭaṟṟu vaḷi,* and *neñcuvaḷi.* Tolkāppiyar himself refers to the *mūkkuvaḷi* in describing the nasals. He refers to the *miṭaṟṟu vaḷi* when describing the vowels and also the semivowel /*y*/. *miṭaṟṟu vaḷi* may therefore be taken as referring to the vibration of the vocal chords in the throat. *neñcu* or chest may be taken to refer to the lungs from which the breath comes especially without any obstruction by the vocal chords. The term *talai* is not clear. Some people will take it as the subjective feeling one has when uttering the plosives.

Sūtra 84 gives the *vaḷi* for the vowels i.e. the *miṭaṟṟuvaḷi.* They are articulated in such a way that the usual form is recognised without any change. Instead of referring to the form, commentators will interpret the word *nilai* as referring to the quantity remaining unchanged.

1.5.2.1.2 ARTICULATION OF VOWELS

1.5.2.1.21 **For** /*a*/ **and** /*ā*/: Thereafter he gives the articulation of the particular vowels, arranging them into three groups. The first group consists of /*a*/ and /*ā*/ which are articulated by opening merely the mouth[2] [it must be assumed that the *miṭaṟṟu vaḷi* will escape out].

1.5.2.1.22 For /*i*/, /*ī*/, /*e*/, /*ē*/, **and** /*i*/: The next group consists of /*i*/, /*ī*/, /*e*/, /*ē*/ and /*ai*/.[3] They also have the opening of the mouth. The teeth adjoining to the edge of the tongue is called *aṇpal*. The tongue is divided into three parts – the back portion of the tongue, the centre portion of the tongue and the front portion of the tongue. The edge

2. TE *sūtra* 85
3. Ibid *sūtra* 86

of the back portion of the tongue reaches the adjacent teeth. That means the tongue becomes concave and therefore the back portion of the tongue is further away from the corresponding portion of the palate. Therefore the front portion of the tongue is not in contact with the palate or the teeth. The front tongue will be nearer to the front palate with a slight opening which will really vary according to the five sounds above named. This gives a definition of the front vowels.

1.5.2.1.23 **For** /*u*/, /*ū*/, /*o*/, /*ō*/ **and** /*au*/: The third group consists of /*u*/, /*ū*/, /*o*/, /*ō*/ and /*au*/[4]. With reference to these there is no contact between the tongue and the palate. The lips are rounded. It will be noted that nothing is mentioned of the movement of the tongue because rounding almost automatically raises the back portion of the tongue a little towards the soft palate which usually happens in pronouncing these sounds. These five therefore form the rounded back vowels. It is significant that when mentioning the vowels Tolkāppiyam uses the word '*icaikkum*' which probably has to be interpreted as "*voiced*"[5]. In *sūtra* 33 also the term "*icai*" occurs in *oṟṟicai* and there also one may interpret it as referring to the sound of the voiced consonants - the nasals and the semi vowels.

1.5.2.1.3 VARIATION IN ARTICULATION

Because the description of the articulation is described with reference to groups of vowels and consonants one should not infer that there is no difference in articulation amongst the sounds included in a group. For instance in

4. Ibid *sūtra* 87
5. See TE *sūtras* 84, 86 and 87.

the three groups of the vowels there will be difference in the opening of the mouth or difference in the space between the tongue and the palate. Tolkāppiyar points out that the differences in opening or rounding will be gradual and not too big. This is stated in *sūtra* 88, which coming between the *sūtras* referring to vowels and those referring to consonants, should be taken as applying to both the series. The articulation of the sounds cannot be pin-pointed. Therefore there will be slight variations.

1.5.2.1.4 ARTICULATION OF CONSONANTS:

1.5.2.1.41 For */k/* **and** */ṅ/*: Then begins the description of the articulation of consonants in groups. But there must have been a *sūtra* corresponding to *sūtra* 84 giving the particular '*vaḷis*' for the consonantal groups. The velars – the plosive and the nasal viz., */k/* and */ṅ/* form one group. A verb like *piṟakkum* etc., is wanting in the *sūtra*. Only the organs which should come into contact in the articulation of the sounds viz., the back portion of the tongue and the palate are mentioned. The qualifier *mutal* or back in *mutalnā aṇṇam* has to be taken to be qualifying not only the tongue but also the palate[6]. The back portion of the palate comes into contact with the back portion of the tongue.

1.5.2.1.42 For */c/* **and** */ñ/*; */ṭ/* **and** */ṇ/*: The next is the palatal group */c/* and */ñ/*[7]. They are produced by the centre portion of the tongue coming into contact with the centre portion of the palate. The third group is */ṭ/* and */ṇ/* which are pronounced by bringing into contact the front portion of the tongue to the front portion of the palate[8].

6. TE *sūtra* 89
7. Ibid *sūtra* 90
8. Ibid *sūtra* 91

1.5.2.1.43 Interpretation of *sūtra* 92: After having described these six sounds a *sūtra* follows which says that these six sounds from the point of articulation or *piṟappu* form into three groups[9]. The necessity for this *sūtra* is not clear. Whenever there are two words or two names occurring as subject and when there are two names occurring as predicate, there can be two interpretations, according to later day canons of interpretations. One is that the first name of the subject will take the first name found in the predicate and the second name of the subject will take the second name found in the predicate. Taken this way the *sūtra* about velars will be interpreted as giving the back portion of the tongue as the place of articulation for /*k*/ and the back portion of the palate as the place of articulation for /*ṅ*/. Similarly the *sūtras* about the palatals and /*t*/ and /*n*/. Interpreted this way one may have six kinds of articulations and not three. The second way of interpretation is to take both the names as forming one subject and both the names in predicate as forming one predicate. This is how the three *sūtras* have been interpreted by us above. This is the interpretation which is approved by the *sūtra* 92, disapproving impliedly what may be called the 'respective construction'. It looks as though that this *sūtra* 92 had been introduced by the later generation to avoid the respective construction. Or it may be that because no predicate such as *piṟakkum* etc., had been mentioned in the above three *sūtras*, this *sūtra* was written by Tolkāppiyar himself to give us the required predicate. It is significant that whilst for the vowels, the predicate *icaikkum* had been used either as *peyar eccam*

9. "*avvāṟeḷuttu mūvakai-p-piṟappiṉa*"

or finite verb, the word *piṟakkum*[10] or *piṟappiṉa*[11] is used with reference to the consonants. *piṟakkum* may refer to voiced sounds and voiceless sounds as well.

1.2.5.1.44 **For /t/ and /n/**: The fourth group described consists of the dentals /t/ and /n/. The teeth are attached to the palate and the portion where the palate and the teeth are in contact is stated as the place of articulation. Here also it is not pin-pointed and the articulation takes place near the area. The front portion of the tongue spreads out and comes into complete contact. Then are articulated /t/ and /n/. The word used for complete stop is *oṟṟa*[12].

1.5.2.1.45 For /ṟ/ and /ṉ/ : The next group consists of /ṟ/ and /ṉ/[13]. Here also the front portion of the tongue comes into close contact, with the front portion of the palate. It will be seen that to this extent the articulation of /ṟ/ and /ṉ/ do not differ from the articulation described for /ṭ/ anu /ṇ/. The difference is however made clear by the word *aṇari*. The tongue curves up and presses on the palate. This curving up which may be a kind of retroflexion is not mentioned with reference to /ṭ/ and /ṇ/. Therefore we have to differentiate between these two. In modern pronunciation /ṭ/ and /ṇ/ are linguals or cerebrals and /ṟ/ is pronounced like a trill. If we were to believe Tolkāppiyam that /ṭ/ and /ṇ/ had no retroflexion or curving up; the curving up occurred only with reference to /ṟ/ and /ṉ/. It has been suggested that the *sūtra* about /ṭ/ and /ṇ/ could not be interpreted as to approve of only the contact between the front portion of the tongue and

10. TE *sūtras* 94 to 99.
11. Ibid *sūtra* 92
12 Ibid *sūtra* 93
13. Ibid *sūtra* 94

the front portion of the palate. The qualifier *nuṉi* according to this theory qualifies only the palate and not the *aṇṇam*. That means the front portion of the tongue may come into contact with the dome of the palate as required for the pronunciation of the cerebral sound. Firstly this will not be on the pattern of the two *sūtras* for the velars or the palatals. Secondly if there was the curving up, required for the cerebral /ṭ/ and /ṇ/, occurring in Tolkāpyiyar's age he would have mentioned it, especially when we see him mentioning the word *aṇari* with reference to /ṟ/ and /ṉ/. In the inscriptions we find /ṟ/ being transliterated with the Sanskrit cerebral /ṭ/ e.g., *Naṟkiḷḷi* "name of a person" is written as *Naṭkiḷḷi.*

Another question is whether /ṟ/ may not be a voiced or voiceless trill. It occurs as a voiceless trill sound in some of the central Dravidian languages. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, because, by his time the pronounciation of /ṟ/ is like that of the trill relies upon the distinction *meyyuṟa oṟṟal* and merely *oṟṟal*[14]. *meyyuṟa oṟṟal* will be complete stop and when there is not the close contact it will be *oṟṟal* according to him. But how the word *oṟṟal* can give a trill is not clear. He further differentiates between *oṟṟal* and *varuṭal. varuṭal* may be a flap or a fricative. If we take the nasals, all of them are articulated like the stops or plosives, the only difference being that the breath escapes through both the nose and the mouth. In this respect /ṉ/ is not different from other nasals. According to this kind of reasoning of equating all *valleḻuttus* /ṟ/ should be a stop or plosive like the other *valleḻuttus.*

1.5.2.1.46 For /r/ and /ḻ/ : Having so far described the articulation of the plosives and nasals except /p/ and /m/,

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14. See under TE *sūtra* 93.

he proceeds to describe other sounds also articulated with the help of the tongue. /r/ and /ḻ/ have the same place of articulation as /ṟ/ and /ṉ/[15].

There are the front tongue and the palate. With reference to /ṟ/ and /ṉ/ and similarly with reference to /r/ and /ḻ/ the palate need not be the front palate. *nā* and *aṇṇam* are not made into compounds as in *sūtras* 89, 90 and 91. *nuṉi nā* in *sūtras* 94 and 95 is the subject and *aṇṇam* is the object. In *sūtra* 95 *nuṉi nā* is separated from the word *aṇṇam* from the conjunctive participle *aṇari*. Therefore these sounds could be alveolar or cerebral. The only difference between /ṟ/ and /ṉ/ on one hand and the /r/ and /ḻ/ on the other is this: in one case the mode of articulation is a stop or a close contact whereas in the other it is *varuṭal* or flap. *varuṭal* may mean also a trill, an intermittant contact. With referrence to /r/ and /ḻ/ also the word *aṇari* or the curving is used.

1.5.2.1.47 For /l/ and /ḷ/ : The next group taken up is the laterals /l/ and /ḷ/[16]. The place of contact is the portion of the palate in contact with the teeth. The front portion of the tongue especially the rim bulges up with tension without spreading out as in the case of /t/. Therefore there is no complete closure. There is close contact with the *aṇṇam*. This means the breath could escape on either side of the tongue. We thus get a lateral sound. If instead of *oṟṟal* we have *varuṭal* we have /ḷ/.

1.5.2.1.48 For /p/ and /m/ : The next group is the labials /p/ and /m/ where the lips come into intimate contact[17].

15. TE *sūtra* 95
16. Ibid *sūtra* 96
17. Ibid *sūtra* 97

The next *sūtra* describes the labio-dental where the teeth and the lip come into contact.[18] Tolkāppiyar does not mention whether the lip is the upper one or the lower one. The usual practice is to bring the lower lip with the upper teeth making the lower lip as the articulator.

1.5.2.1.49 For /y/: *Sūtra* 99 gives us the articulation of the remaining sound /y/. The *vaḷi* is called *vaḷiyicai*, the voiced sound. It is said to come from *miṭaṟu* i. e. throat. This reaches the palate and there is a close friction which is described as a kind of a plugging. We may remember the articulation described for front vowels and when there is closed friction in that position one gets /y/. /y/ could not have been the continuent as it is today.

Tolkāppiyar has been combining the nasals and the plosives in describing their articulation. But there is a difference between these two. He states in *sūtra* 100, that the six nasals with reference to their articulation and manifestation have the places of articulation as alreadу described. But the difference lies in their *vaḷi* - the nasal *vaḷi* or *mūkkiṉ vaḷi.* He uses the term *vaḷiyicai* where *icai* as already suggested must denote voicing.

1.5.2.15 ARTICULATION OF *cārpu* LETTERS

With this ends the description of the articulation of the sounds. But there are the *cārntu varal marapiṉa*. They were stated to be three. They have been analysed and made clear as having no specific characteristic feature of their own except that of occurring in combination with other sounds in a word. Their articulation is one with the articulation of the

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18. Ibid *sūtra* 98

sounds with which they occur. They become one with them when recognised. That is how they behave and get themselves manifested[19].

1.5.2.16 OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS.

Next follows a *sūtra* which is often taken as two[20]. "All the sounds have been specifically mentioned above; from the bases described above the *vaḷi* comes out. Along with this *vaḷi* the words are articulated out. [That means there is no implosive]. When it is thus articulated the differences in the breath before it is breathed out is analysed without any confusion in the *maṟai* of the *antaṇar* [the *Vēdas* of the Brahmins?]. There the *antaṇar* differentiate the internal quantities of these internal sounds; that is not here described". Tolkāppiyar states that he has described the quantity of the articulated sounds recognised as such when objectively sounded and recognised. It is clear that Tolkāppiyar is making a physically objective analysis.

1.5.2.2 COMPARISON OF *Naṉṉūl* WITH *Tolkāppiyam*.

1.5.2.2.1 Phonetics and allophonics: The articulation of sounds is discussed as the fourth topic under phonology in Naṉṉūl. *Sūtras* 19 to 33 therein deal with this. *Sūtras* 34 to 42 deal with the *cārpeḻuttus*. They are also treated under this topic of articulation because their articulation and manifestation depend upon the environment in which they occur. Therefore the author may be taken as being conscious of the *cārpeḻuttus* being allophones. The difference with him,

19. Ibid *sūtra* 101

20. Ibid *sūtra* 102

between the *mutal eluttu*, basic or more frequent sounds, phonemes, if one may use the term and *cārpeluttu*, or alternant sounds is this: the sounds of the first category can be described by themselves without reference to their environment whilst the sounds of the latter category being combinational variants can be described only in terms of their environments. Really speaking both are allophones, the latter occurring only in limited environments, the former occurring elsewhere. Tolkāppiyar therefore discusses the *mutal eluttu* in the first and the *cārpeluttu* in the second chapter dealing with phonological words. But he deals with their articulation in the third chapter. Nannūl deals with the articulation of not only the *mutal eluttu* but also the description of the *cārpeluttu* under the heading *pirappu*. There the articulation of the *cārpeluttu* is first mentioned and then the *cārpeluttus* are described in terms of their environment. Therefore one is having here phonetics and allophonics described under the topic *pirappu* in Nannūl.

1.5.2.2.2 DEFINITION OF *pirappu*.

There is an old *sūtra* quoted by Naccinārkkiniyar about the articulation of sounds. "There are three things to be noted viz., *nilai* "place", *vaḷi* "breath" and *muyarci* "the effort"; there is also the agent or the human being who pronounces it[21]. The living being is spoken of as the *uyir* in Nannūl. He makes an effort in all its completeness required for the result to follow. The inner energy or breath moves or makes the sound molecules to vibrate and go up and they reach the chest, the throat, the *ucci* and the nose[22]. *ucci* corresponds to *talai* or head mentioned in Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra*. But this

21. TE Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary p. 109.

22. Nannūl *sūtra* 19

term reminds one of the cerebral sounds; perhaps cerebrals are pronounced at the dome of the mouth. These four are the places. We have already seen commentators speaking of *neñcu vaḷi, miṭaṟṟu vaḷi, talai vaḷi* and *mūkku vaḷi.* The sound molecules here referred to are the causes of the sound according to Jain Philosophy. This has been referred to in the study of Avinayam. The breath from these various places come out as the various sounds because of the action of the lips, the toungue, the teeth and the palate. Naṉṉūl speaks of their action[23]. But it is only the moving organs like the tongue and the lower lip which can be said to have any action and these are known as articulators. The teeth and the palate are stationary and therefore passive. This resulting articulation of sounds starting from the initial effort of the living being is according to Naṉṉūl *piṟappu.*

1.5.2.2.3 *iṭam* AND *muyaṟci*

Though Naṉṉūl speaks of the effort of the living being, it later on refers to the *toḻil* or articulatory movements as *muyaṟci.* Therefore Naṉṉūl distinguishes between *iṭappiṟappu* and *muyaṟci-p-piṟappu,* the first relating to the four places already mentioned and the latter to the four other organs. Perhaps here is the influence of the Sanskrit conception of *bāhya prayatna* and *ābhyantra prayatna*[24]. The *sūtra* 20 describes the *iṭappiṟappu.* Tolkāppiyar would have spoken of the *vaḷi* i.e. *miṭaṟṟu vaḷi, mūkku vaḷi* etc., for these.

1.5.2.2.4 PLACE OF ARTICULATION

The place for the vowels and the semi-vowels is the throat, i. e. the vibrating vocal chords; the place for the nasal

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23. Ibid. See the word "*toḻil*"

24. W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India,* p. 22.

is the nose; the place for the plosives is the chest. In terms of Tolkāppiyam these will be *miṭaṟṟu vaḷi*, *mūkku vaḷi* and *neñcu vaḷi*. It will be seen that Naṉṉūl does not mention *talai vaḷi* or *ucci vaḷi* in describing the *mutal eḻuttu*. *talai vaḷi* is attributed to āytam when *cārpeḻuttus* are described[25].

1.5.2.2.5 ARTICULATION OF SOUNDS

1.5.2.2.5.1 Vowels : Naṉṉūl first describes the articulation of the vowels in the first three *sūtras* of this chapter, in the same way in which Tolkāppiyar has grouped them. Naṉṉūl *sūtras* are shorter but use the important phrases of Tolkāppiyam. *aṅkāppu* for /a/, /ā/[26]; *aṇpal mutal nā viḷimpuṟal* for /i/, /ī/, /e/, /ē/ and /ai/[27] and *itaḻ kuvivu* for the others[28].

1.5.2.2.5.2 CONSONANTS

1.5.2.2.5.21 For /k/, /ṅ/ **etc.** : In dealing with the consonants Naṉṉūl follows the order of the alphabet. Pavaṇanti summarises the *sūtras* about /k/, /ṅ/, /c/, /ñ/, /ṭ/, /ṇ/ in Tolkāppiyam into one *sūtra*[29]. "*aṇṇam naṇṇiya pal mutal*" is described concisely as "*aṇpal aṭi*" with reference to the articulation of /t/ and /n/[30]. Instead of "*nā nuṉi*" or "*nuṉinā*" which Pavaṇanti himself has used in other *sūtras*[31], he uses here "*nā muṭi*" probably referring to the edge of the blade of the tongue. He does not refer to the spreading out of the tongue in this articulation.

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25. Ibid *sūtra* 32
26. Ibid *sūtra* 21
27. Ibid *sūtra* 22
28. Ibid *sūtra* 23
29. Ibid *sūtra* 24
30. See 29 above.
31. Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 24, 28 and 29.

1.5.2.2.5.22 Labials: In the description of the labials Pavaṉanti refers to the upper and the lower lips, specifically[32].

The description of the articulation of /y/ is curious. He speaks of the "*aṭi nā*" and the *aṭi aṇam*" coming into contact[33]. It is not clear what he means by the word "*aṭi*". If it is the back portion of the tongue and the palate he is entirely in the wrong. Perhaps he means the front portion of the tongue. But the front portion cannot in any sense be called as "*aṭi*".

1.5.2.2.5.23 No distinction between close contact and loose contact: Further he does not differentiate between the close contact for the stops and the loose contact for the fricatives. He uses the word "*uṟa*" in all these places except when he describes /r/, /ḻ/, and /ḻ/ where in imitation of Tolkāppiyam he uses the word "*varuṭa*"[34]

1.5.2.2.5.24 For /r/ and /ḻ/: The articulation of /r/ and /ḻ/ is the result of the front portion of the tongue moving slowly on the palate[35]. The word used is "*varuṭa*". The word as already stated is taken from Tolkāppiyam, and here again Naṉṉūl does not mention about the curving of the tongue - "*aṇari*".

1.5.2.2.5.25 For /l/ and /ḷ/. Next follows the description of /l/ and /ḷ/. Naṉṉūl uses the words in Tolkāppiyam, but with a little change. In Tolkāppiyam, as often interpreted /l/ and /ḷ/ are in the same place of articulation but there is a

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32. Ibid *sūtra* 26
33. Ibid *sūtra* 27
34. Ibid *sūtras* 28 and 29.
35. Ibid *sūtra* 28

difference in the movement of the organs. In /l/ there is complete contact whilst for /ḷ/ there is a loose movement or "*varuṭal*". But Naṉṉūl introduces also a difference in the place of articulation; /l/ will be dental and /ḷ/ will be higher up as an alveolar or a cerebral. It is possible to interpret Tolkāppiyam so as to give the meaning given in Naṉṉūl. The prose order will be '*nāviḷimpu vīṅki aṇpal mutal uṟa, oṟṟa lakāram piṟakkum, āvayiṉ aṇṇam varuṭa ḷakāram piṟakkum*'[36]. In this way /l/ and /ḷ/ become the forward and backward laterals. This change in the interpretation of Tolkāppiyam must be due to the change in the pronunciation of these sounds, a change which must have taken place before Pavaṇanti came to write his grammar. Even today the places of articulation of /l/ and /ḷ/ are different.

1.5.2.2.5.26 **For** /v/: Next follows the description of /v/[37]. Naṉṉūl specifically states "*mēṟ-pal*". He is fond of the word "*uṟa*" instead of "*iyaiya*" used in Tolkāppiyam; otherwise there is no difference.

1.5.2.2.5.27 **For** /ṟ/ **and** /ṉ/: Lastly comes the description of /ṟ/ and /ṉ/[38]. With reference to the other stops he has used only the word "*uṟa*". He wants to contrast /r/ and /ṟ/. Probably by his time the /ṟ/ has become a trill. The palate and the front part of the tongue come into greater contact ("*naṉi uṟin*") for articulating /ṟ/ and /ṉ/. There is no mention of the curling up of the tongue. It is significant that even with reference to the pronunciation of /ṭ/ which must have become the cerebral in his time, he does not

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36. TE *sūtra* 96
37. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 30
38. Ibid *sūtra* 31

mention the word "*aṇartal*" a retroflexion of the tongue. This is because he is following Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.2.2.5.3 "*cārpeḻuttu*": He discusses *cārpeḻuttu* in one *sūtra*. āytam has "*talai*" or head for its place. The opening of the mouth is its articulatory movement[39]. Therefore by the time of Naṉṉūl, āytam must have ceased to be pronounced as forming one unit with its environments viz., the plosives.

There is another school of thought which mentions the chest as the place for āytam, perhaps, because it was connected with the plosive. If by '*talai*' one understands the dome of the mouth one may find that in "*muḫṭītu*" and "*kaḫṟītu*" it is pronounced somewhere near the dome. Tolkāppiyam, as already pointed out, mentions that there will be minor changes in the pronunciation of the sounds grouped together. The *sūtra* there is "*tattam tiripē ciṟiya eṉpa*". But Naṉṉūl speaks only of the possibility of minor changes due to *eṭuttal* etc.,[40] whereas Tolkāppiyam, asserts that there will be changes though only to limited extent. These differences we have already noted.

After this Pavaṇanti gives the description of the ten *cārpeḻuttus*. Thus one gets the explanations for uyirmey, āytam etc., for the form of the letters, *māttirai* and the place where the lengthening of sounds are possible[41]. Since all these details have been compared with other works elsewhere they have not been explained here to avoid repetition.

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39. Ibid *sūtra* 32
40. Ibid *sūtra* 33
41. Ibid *sūtras* 34 to 46 respectively.

1.5.3. PUṆARIYAL

1.5.3.1 *Tolkāppiyar's* TREATMENT OF SANDHI

1.5.3.1.1. Definition of sandhi: Chapters 4 to 9 in Tolkāppiyam deal with *sandhi. Sandhi* or junction is the coming together of two words. According to Tolkāppiyam "there are thirtythree sounds, i.e. thirty primary sounds and three secondary sounds. Of these twentytwo occur as initial sounds and twentyfour as final sounds. All words therefore in *sandhi* have to be considered in terms of their initial and final sounds. These sounds can be ultimately reduced to two viz., consonants and vowels[1]. Of these the consonantal endings in their written form are characterised by a *puḷḷi*[2]. Kuṟṟiyalukaram also is of that character[3]. Ordinarily this later statement will mean that kuṟṟiyalukuram in its written form will have the *puḷḷi*. But, as already pointed out, this system of writing had changed in some places after some period of time. Commentators therefore try to interpret this *sūtra* in a different way i.e. kuṟṟiyalukaram like a consonant allows the coming vowel to merge with it[4]. Whatever be the historical reason for this interpretation it cannot apply to the age of Tolkāppiyam. This, apart, having mentioned the consonantal endings from the point of view of the written form, Tolkāppiyam has to deal with the other endings. In

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1. TE *sūtra* 104
2. Ibid 105
3. Ibid 106 "*kuṟṟiyal ukaramu m-aṟṟeṉa moḻipa*"
4. See Iḷampūraṇar's commentary under TE 106.

aḷapeṭai, the vowel will be distinct even in the written form. But when the written form is an uyirmey the vowel is not so very clear. Therefore *sūtra* 107 states that all the uyirmey endings are really vowel endings. No such difficulty however arises about the consonant in the initial position. In the written form the consonant is clearly recognisable though always sounded with a vowel which is denoted by diacritical marks.

There will be four kinds of *sandhis*[5] viz., [1] -V+V- [2] -V+C- [3] -C+V- and [4] -C+C- which are going to be treated[6]. This is from the point of view of phonology. But when words come together they are grammatically related and therefore morphological and syntactic considerations arise. It is possible to speak of the first word and the subsequent word when two words are in *sandhi*. But this will not bring out the full force of *sandhi*. Therefore Tolkāppiyar speaks of *niṟutta col* "the word which is first put forward" and of *kuṟittuvaru kiḷavi* "the word which comes as having morphological and syntactic relationship with the first word"[7] Therefore in *sandhi* is contemplated this binary division. It is for consideration whether he is thinking in terms of the immediate constituents.

When such units are brought together the final sound of the first commingles with the initial sound of the second. The author speaks of these two units being either noun or verb; probably he refers to "the topic and the comment". Thus

5. V = Vowel; C = Consonant.

6. TE *sūtra* 108

7. Ibid

[1] the noun may appear before another noun i. e. where the subject and the predicate are nouns; [2] the noun can be followed by a verb; [3] the verb can be followed by a noun and [4] the verb can be followed by a verb. In Tamil as in other Dravidian languages the sentences are ultimately substantive and adjective in nature. The so-called verb can be translated as 'that one, who or which does an act'. The examples will make this clear. [1] Noun + Noun = *itu maram.* "This [is] tree" [It will be found that no copula occurs in Tamil] [2] Noun + verb = *itu vaḷarkiṟatu.* "This grows". Here also *vaḷarkiṟatu* means 'that which grows'. Therefore the whole sentence means 'This [is] that which grows'. [3] Verb + noun = *vaḷarkiṟatu maram* "that which grows [is] the tree". [4] Verb + verb = *muḷaittatu vaḷarkiṟatu* 'that which is sprouted is that which is growing'. According to the grammar the first word is the subject and therefore is a noun – it is called *viṉaiyālaṇaiyum peyar* – "a verb becoming a noun" – a participial noun. But this meaning is given for bringing out the substantial nature of the sentence and its subsequent developments. It may also mean 'it sprouted and now grows'. This is equal to *muḷaittu vaḷarkiṟatu* which will be the appropriate example for verb + verb. A sentence like *itu nallatu* "this [is] that which is good" has to be translated as 'this is good'. This would bring out the adjectival nature of the sentence. But even here the sentence is clearly substantive. These are the four possible combinations of the two units above referred to.

1.5.3.1.2 Three kinds of changes and no-change: When these units come together in this way the ending of the first unit and the initial of the second unit may undergo change or remain without any change. Remaining without

change is called *iyalpu*. The change is called '*tiripu*'[8]. This is of three kinds. Therefore in any *sandhi* there will be only any one of these four, viz., three changes and one no-change. The three changes are [i] *mey piṟitātal* "one consonant becoming another", [ii] *mikutal* 'coming in of a new consonant" and [iii] *kuṉṟal* "disappearance of an existing consonant"[9]. The word used is *mey* which means consonant. It may also mean the form of any sound in which case the disappearance etc., of a vowel also can be brought under these categories. But in the age of Tolkāppiyar vowel clusters occurred and that is probably why Tolkāppiyar is referring to the consonants in this *sūtra* as the main category of sounds undergoing change.

1.5.3.1.3 Syntax: When the binary division alone is taken into consideration the sentence or the phrase should have only two words. But this is rarely the case. Even when there are more than two words, still the binary division could be recognised where the final word in each of the binary division could be recognised as the head word preceded by an attributive word or phrases. Therefore Tolkāppiyar states that the two words respectively preceded by their attributes can come together as two units of a *sandhi*[10]. In this way Tolkāppiyar reveals to us the characteristic feature of Tamil syntax. The head word whether in a verb phrase or noun phrase can be preceded by an attributive word. What occurs, in relation to the primary division of a sentence, as an attribute, may in its turn become a subsidiary head and be preceded by its attribute. In such a case it has to be noted

8. Ibid *sūtra* 109
9. Ibid *sūtra* 110
10. Ibid *sūtra* 111

that even a subject of a subsidiary head word will have to be designed as an attribute. Perhaps the sentence structure will be S-P (Subject-Predicate) and it will be also an A-H (Attribute-Head) structure. See *avaṉ ceyta vĕlai muṭintatu. muṭintatu* "finished" is the predicate; *vēlai* "work" is the subject; *ceyta* is the attribute of the subject 'work'. But *avaṉ* "he" is the attribute [subject] of *ceyta*: *avan ceyta* "what he has done". *avaṉ ceyta* becomes one constitute and thereafter becomes the immediate constituent of *vēlai*. Then *avaṉ ceyta vêlai* itself becomes a constitute to become an immediate constituent with the other major binary unit, the predicate *muṭintatu*. It will be seen that *avaṉ ceyta vēlai muṭintatu* is a transformation of the two kernel sentences viz., *avaṉ vēlai ceytāṉ* and *vēlai muṭintatu*. In this way the phrases according to Tolkāppiyar are capable of being brought into *sandhi*. It is clear that Tolkāppiyar is having syntax in his mind.

1.5.3.1.4. Telescoped words: But there are cases where words have become so much telescoped as to be beyond recognition as they often occur in colloquial usage. But even then they can be taken as one unit and brought together in *sandhi*. There are also cases of transposition of the usual order of words in certain compounds and these also can be brought in as *sandhi* units as exceptional usages, for instance, what should occur as *kaṇ+mī* occurs transposed as *mī+kaṇ* "upper place"[11].

1.5.3.1.5 Constitutes: The author next takes into consideration the constitutes where the first constituent consists of either *vēṟṟumai kuṟitta puṇarmoḷi nilai* "a declined noun [with the case sign present or not present]" or

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11. Ibid *sūtra* 112

vēṟṟumai-y-alvaḻi-p-puṇarmoḻinilai "a noun which is not so declined". *vēṟṟumai* and *alvaḻi* are, here it is suggested, restricted to constitutes where the first constituent is a noun. Iḷampūraṇar also states that *alvaḻi* refers chiefly to the constitute where the first unit is the noun in the nominative case. He however feels that all those constitutes in which the first unit is not a declined noun will come under *alvaḻi* whether they are nouns or verbs. As Tolkāppiyar specifically mentions other kinds of phrases, this *sūtra* 113 should be restricted as suggested above; for, in this chapter he deals only with certain major constitutes which are of frequent occurrence. When in such a constitute the first constituent comes into contact with the second constituent therein, the effects of *sandhi* are seen, strengthening such a syntactic coming together of the constituents either by the appearance of a sound or a *cāriyai* in that *sandhi*[12]. On account of this change the constitute probably stands well marked as a constitute. It will be seen that Tolkāppiyar distinguishes the coming in of a sound from the coming in of a *cāriyai*. He has a canonical form for words. That which does not come within this canonical form i.e., the short vowel, is treated as *eḻuttu* "sound" and not as a *cāriyai* – perhaps he feels that they are not morphological in value but only enunciative aids. The coming in of a sound is usually illustrated by the doubling of the initial plosive of the coming word. *Cāriyai* is the morph which comes in between the two units probably as a marker of such a constitute. No further significance, grammatical or semantic, is attached to this kind of *cāriyai* and therefore it is often termed as *empty morph*.

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12. Ibid *sūtra* 113

1.5.3.1.6 Case signs : The next *sūtra* 114 gives the list of six case signs, They are /*ai*/, /*oṭu*/, /*ku*/, /*iṉ*/, /*atu*/ and /*kaṇ*/ of the so-called 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th cases respectively. The constitutes in which these case signs, whether present or suffering an ellipsis, will be called *vēṟṟumai* or declensional phrases. Therefore where there is neither the case sign nor its significance present, the phrase will have to be taken as *alvaḻi* or non-declensional phrase.

1.5.3.1.61 Changes in constitutes : The author mentions certain changes which occur in certain constitutes. The nouns with the case signs form one word and are treated as such. When nouns take the case signs the *cāriyai* occurs in between the nouns and the case signs. The *cāriyais* are morphologically or phonologically conditioned and thus their distribution is described in *urupiyal*. But in the present chapter the changes which occur to the case signs themselves in relation to the morphs and to the *cāriyais* preceding them are described. The case signs as stated in *sūtra* 117 are suffixed to the nouns as forming one unit along with the noun so as to form a constitute with the coming word or phrase. The nouns, Tolkāppiyar hastens to point out, are of two kinds either belonging to the human category or to the non-human category. They are called *uyartiṇai* and *a°°ṟiṇai* respectively[13]. This distinction is important in understanding the constitutes – their concordance or cross reference as will appear below. The case-signs which begin with the consonants viz., *ku* and *kaṇ* get, if possible or when it is appropriate [*olvaḻi*] a consonant, coming in after the nouns to which they are attached[14].

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13. Ibid *sūtra* 118
14. Ibid *sūtra* 115

1.5.3.1.62 The case sign beginning with */a/*: The sixth case sign begins in */a-/*. If it is suffixed to a noun ending in */-a/*, the initial */a-/* of this case sign disappears[15]. Ordinarily, as it will be seen in *sūtra* 173, words ending in */a/* get an */iṉ/ cāriyai*. But *sūtra* 116 refers to an */a/* coming anew after the basic morphemes */nam/*, */em/*, */tam/*, etc., which according to *sūtra* 161 get an */a/* when the fourth case sign or the sixth case sign is suffixed. It is this */a/* which is described in *sūtra* 116 as the ending to which the sixth case sign is really suffixed. Therefore *nam + a > nama* and *nama + ku > namakku* "for us". Historically this *nama* is itself *nam + a* where the */a/* is the old genitive case sign. Later, this */a/* lost its force as a genitive and was looked upon as merely euphonic or as an empty morpheme. As pointed out by Dr. Caldwell *cāriyais* or empty morphemes are really the old case signs. It is possible to argue that *namatu* "our" could be taken as *nam + atu* so much so there will not be any necessity for bringing in the emergence of */a/*. However *nam* etc., taking the case sign */ku/* stand as *namakku* etc. If from these forms */ku/* is removed as a case sign, we get only the form *nama* etc. Here since *nam* is the transformed base of *nām*, */a/* in *nama* has to be explained and this is explained by Tolkāppiyar as an euphonic sound[16]. Here also */a/* is an old genitive case sign which has lost that force. Therefore the case sign */ku/* came in. This */ku/* also has the force of the genitive especialiy when coming after *uyartiṇai*. The additional proof for considering this form *nama* as very ancient, lies in the fact viz., the absence of the doubling of the final */m/* when followed by a vowel, a rule

15. Ibid *sūtra* 116
16. Ibid *sūtra* 161

which came into force at a later age though certainly previous to Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.3.1.63 Morphotactics: The case signs, we were told, were suffixed to nouns. *Sūtra* 119 states that the *cāriyai* will immediately follow the nouns. This has to be interpreted as explaining the morphotactics with reference to the *cāriyai* viz., noun + *cāriyai* + case sign.

1.5.3.1.7 *Cāriyais*: *Sūtra* 120 enumerates the *cāriyais* as /*in*/, /*varru*/, /*attu*/, /*am*/, /*on*/, /*ān*/, /*akku*/, /*ikku*/, /*an*/ and the like. It will be seen that Tolkāppiyar who looks upon *cāriyai* as an *iṭaiccol* i.e. as a word though not coming independently, gives these particles in their canonical forms applicable to words. That is the reason why he does not give their forms as /*-tt-*/ or /*-kk-*/ for /*attu*/ and /*akku*/ *cāriyais* respectively. The form *varru* is also rather curious. *varru* occurs only after plural nouns. As already stated vowel clusters were known in his age and glides were not compulsory, /*v*/ [perhaps an altered form of the plural *-m*] often occurred in the plural suffixes [see /*av*/, /*iv*/ etc.] and in the final position this /*v*/ was often lost. But the old form preserved this /*v*/ in nouns occurring with *cāriyai*. Therefore this /*v*/ could not be relegated to the position of a glide and that may be the reason why Tolkāppiyar looks upon *varru* [as the canonical form] rather than *arru* as the *cāriyai*; see *pala*< *palav< *palam<palāam "many"; the /*-v*/ is found in *palavarrai*.] Whatever it be, this gives us a historical clue.

1.5.3.1.71 SOUND CHANGE IN *cāriyais*:

1.5.3.1.711 /*in*/ *cāriyai*: Tolkāppiyar proceeds to describe the changes which these *cāriyais* undergo. The

initial /*i*/ of /*in̲*/ optionally disappears when suffixed to /*ā*/[17]. When this /*in̲*/ occurs followed by a word of measurement the final /*n̲*/ > /*r̲*/[18]. e.g. *patin̲* [*akal* > *patir̲*. (*akal* is the word denoting measurement) In *patir̲* the /*r̲*/ will double when followed by a vowel according to TE 160. Thus the *sūtra* restricts this change before words denoting measurement. But one finds that Tolkāppiyam itself using the phrase *on̲patir̲r̲-eḻuttu* where the doubling of /*r̲r̲*/ is found before a word which is not denoting measurements. If so, why restrict the change of -*n̲* > -*r̲* to places where the second word is one of measurement. Is it not possible to take *ir̲r̲u* as *in̲* + *tu*? Then only one can explain the form of the old name of a Caṅkam work – *Pattir̲r̲u-p-pattu*. If so, can it be that this *sūtra* 122 is an interpolation?

1.5.3.1.712 /*var̲r̲u*/: When /*var̲r̲u*/ is suffixed to words ending in /*ai*/ the initial /*v*/ is lost and this *cāriyai* in that place has only the initial /*a*/[19]. This is the only place which justifies /*ar̲r̲u*/ as being taken as the form of the *cāriyai*. More or less the same statement about /*var̲r̲u*/ is made in *sūtra* 178 also and thus becomes superficial It seems that this *sūtra* 123 is not in its proper place.

To continue the changes occurring with reference to /*in̲*/, it is stated in *sūtra* 124 that when the case sign /*ku*/ is suffixed, the final /*n̲*/ of /*in̲*/ becomes /*r̲*/. Thus one finds the *sūtras* 121, 122 and 124 stating the changes happening to /*in̲*/ *cāriyai*.

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17. Ibid *sūtra* 121; e.g. *ā* + *in̲* [+*ai*] > *ān̲* [*ai*] "cow [acc.]".
18. Ibid *sūtra* 122
19. Ibid *sūtra* 123

1.5.3.1.713 *ā<u>n</u>*: The /<u>n</u>/ ending of the *cāriyai* /*ā<u>n</u>*/ also becomes /*<u>r</u>*/ when suffixed to the name of a day [usually, the name of any star] when followed by a verb beginning with a plosive[20].

1.5.3.1.714 /*attu*/ and /*ikku*/: The initial /*a*/ of /*attu*/ disappears when it is suffixed to a word ending in /*a*/[21] [e.g. *maka*+*attu*>*maka ϕttu*]; similarly the initial /*i*/ of /*ikku*/ disappears after words ending in /*i*/ and /*ai*/[22].

e.g. [1] *āṭi*+*ikku*>*āṭiϕkku*>*āṭikku* '*āṭi* [dat.]" [2] *cittirai* +*ikku*>*cittiraiϕkku*>*cittiraikku* "*cittirai* [dat.]"

The sounds /*-kku*/ of the /*akku*/ *cāriyai* disappear when they are followed by a plosive and preceded by nouns. e.g. *ku<u>nr</u>u*+*akku*+P–>*ku<u>nr</u>ϕ*+P–. But really in these instances the initial plosive of the coming word doubles according to *sūtra* 216. Perhaps words like these are originally ended in /*m*/ as *ku<u>nr</u>am* "hill" etc. and therefore behave according to *sūtra* 311. But when these words came to be looked upon as ending in a ku<u>rr</u>iyalukaram as *ku<u>nr</u>u* etc., /*a*/ alone came to be recognised as the emergent sound and this was analogically extended to other instances also like *tami<u>ḻ</u>a-k-kūttu* "Tamilian system of dance" *araca-k-ka<u>nn</u>i* "princess" etc.

The final /*m*/ of the *cāriyai* /*am*/ becomes the homorganic nasal of the following plosive[23]. e.g. [*puḷi*] *am*+*kōṭu*>[*puḷi*] -*aṅkōṭu* "The branch of tamarind tree" etc. According to *sūtra* 131 if /*am*/ were to be followed by a word beginning

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20. Ibid *sūtra* 125
21. Ibid *sūtra* 126
22. Ibid *sūtras* 127 and 128.
23. Ibid *sūtra* 130

with a nasal or semi vowel, the final should disappear. e.g. *puḷiy*]*am*+*ñeri*>*puḷiy*] *aϕñeri*] - If this were so, the suggestion with reference to *sūtra* 129 is strengthened. *Sūtra* 132 states that the *cārīyai* /*iṉ*/ should disappear after the case sign /*iṉ*/. e.g. *viḷa*+*iṉ*+*iṉ*>*viḷa-v-iṉϕ* "than the *viḷa* tree".

1.5.3.1.72 Characteristic features of ***cāriyai*:** Then follows a *sūtra* which describes the characteristic features of the *cāriyai.* Nouns and verbs [as already stated] come to form constitutes sometimes with a pause and sometimes without a pause [perhaps as in non-compounds and compounds respectively]. In some places the case sign manifests and in some others it suffers an ellipsis where its presence is not necessary. The *cāriyais* it is said, occur according to the proper usage. When the words are split the *cāriyais* do not occur after these words or constitutes. But they occur in between the two words or constituents. As far as the case sign *oṭu* is concerned the occurrence of the *cāriyai* is merely optional[24]. It is not clear why this *sūtra* which is said to be a general description of *cāriyai* occurs here; especially why *oṭu* should be mentioned here. This *sūtra* is in its place only because it speaks of the /*iṉ*/ *cāriyai* coming with /*oṭu*/. Otherwise its place here is not understandable.

1.5.3.1.73 Changes in ***/vaṟṟu/*** **and** ***/attu/*:** The next *sūtra* relates to changes occurring in /*vaṟṟu*/ and /*attu*/[25]. The consonantal ending of a word to which they are suffixed is clearly noticed. The initial plosive of the following word doubles after the *cāriyais.* The only difference between the *sūtras* which have preceded and this *sūtra* is: 'the preceding

24. Ibid *sūtra* 133
25. Ibid *sūtra* 134

sūtras refer to changes occurring in the *cāriyai* itself whilst this *sūtra* refers to changes occurring not to *cāriyai* but to the words preceding or succeeding the *cāriyai*'.

1.5.3.1.74 *Eḻuttu-c-cāriyai*: Tolkāppiyar refers to certain *cāriyais* which are suffixed to the sounds when the sounds denote themselves. These are therefore called *eḻuttiṉ cāriyai*. They are three in number viz., *kāram*, *karam* and *kāṉ*[26]. *kāram* and *kāṉ* are suffixed to long vowels or syllables. The short vowels have all the three.[27] *kāṉ* occurs with /*ai*/ and /*au*/[28].

1.5.3.1.8. *Uyirmey*: Tolkāppiyar proceeds to describe certain other points which arise in describing the *sandhi*. If a word ends in a consonant and the following word begins in a vowel the vowel in that position cannot stand alone. It commingles with the consonant so as to become a syllable[29]. This is what is happening in the writing system. But one wonders whether any change occurs in the pronunciation as well. Tolkāppiyar had not stated specifically that in uyrimey the duration of the consonant is completely lost. Probably the later pronunciation justified such a loss to be taken into consideration and the commentators and the later grammarians uniformly point this out. If this was so, the change was not merely in the written form. If the change is merely confined to the written form then there will not be any change phonologically to be mentioned. It will be seen that Naṉṉūl prefers to call this as no-change i.e. "*iyalpu*"[30].

26. Ibid *sūtra* 135
27. Ibid *sūtra* 136
28. Ibid *sūtra* 137
29. Ibid *sūtra* 139
30. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 149

But Pavaṇanti then forgets to state the same in the description of uyirmey or the syllable. Even according to him the duration of the consonant is lost.

The reverse is also described. If in a final syllable the vowel is lost or separated then the word will end in a consonant and in that position the consonant will be written in its own form[31]. This cannot be considered as a change except for the loss in the vowel which may be otherwise prescribed. As Tolkāppiyar seems to treat both the *sūtras* 139 and 140 alike one may not be wrong in assuming that Tolkāppiyar treated 139 also as contemplating no real change except in the writing system.

1.5.3.1.9 Glide: *Sūtra* 141 is important because it refers to the coming in of the glide. The glide is called *uṭampaṭumey.* It is a consonant which brings the vowels together, whereas without this there will be a hiatus *uṭampaṭu* may mean "that which makes vowels assimilated through it" or "that which comes in as a body to the vowel". In the later case it can be such only with reference to the subsequent vowel with which it becomes a syllable. This glide is phonologically conditioned by nature of either of the two adjacent vowels. The *sūtra* states, as interpreted by the commentators, what happens "when the vowel comes" – "*uyir varu vaḻi*". It is here suggested that it may also mean "when the vowels come". If the former interpretation is given then the condition that the first word also should end in a vowel will not be there. Utilising this, (*cel+uḻi*>) *cel-v-uḻi* and other forms are explained where the first word ends only in a consonant. But *kēṭpuḷi* has a /*-p-*/ instead of /*-v-*/ [Perhaps the *-v-* was

31. TE *sūtra* 140

originally *-p-*]. Again the words *celvar* "wealthy people" etc., [*cel+v+ar*] should be explained on this or other grounds. Hence if the conception of a glide has to be understood we must assume its coming in between two vowels. This is a rule which will apply not only between the two words forming part of a *sandhi* but also to individual words wherein *cāriyai*, case signs come to be suffixed. Therefore the second interpretation wherein the "*uyir*" is taken in the plural number is to be justified.

What is important is that this rule about the glide is a permissive one. The *sūtra* states that the learned will not object to the introduction of the glide [in the writing system]. Therefore we have to assume that there was a doubt as to whether this glide should come in or not. That must be, because, in an age when vowel clusters were very frequent, the glide should be a new change. By the time of Tolkāppiyar the glide must have become frequent enough so as not to be neglected, though it has not become the established rule. Perhaps, first, the vowel clusters came to be pronounced as diphthongs at least in some places. One such cluster /*a*/+/*i*/ has come to stay as /*ai*/ But probably in a few other cases there was only the hiatus. In modern pronunciation that a glottal stop is heard between vowels when a vowel is repeated; in still other cases it must have assumed where the glide /*v*/ or /*y*/ later occurred. Tolkāppiyar does not also enumerate the glides and the conditions under which they occur.

Probably by the time of Tolkāppiyar the glide [*y* or *v*] was pronounced though not written in the script form by all. If one analyses Tolkāppiyar's *sūtras* themselves no uniformity

is found[32]. As already noted /a/ + /i/ became a diphthong /ai/. In *aḻapeṭais* one gets the vowel cluster. It will be seen when discussing the *sandhi* rules that *aḷapeṭai* is not coming in because of metrical exigency alone. In *sūtra* 443 we find the form *toḷḷāyiram* "nine thousand" described where we get a cluster of different vowels of /ā/ + /i/. [*toḷāiram*] which is something different from the vowel clusters in *aḷapetai*. There is again no uniform rule with reference to the particular glides and their coming in. In many places the characterestic feature of the glide depends upon the vowel endings of the previous words. It is /y/ when the previous vowel is a front vowel i.e. /i/, /ī/, /e/, /ē/ or /ai/. [in /ai/ also there is the /i/ at the end], otherwise the glide is /v/. But there are also cases where the characteristic feature of the glide depends not on the previous vowel but on the initial vowel of the following word. Tolkāppiyam uses the phrase "*āyirutiṉai*"[33]. Here Tolkāppiyar will take /ā/ as the transformed demonstrative base. Then the glide is /y/ because it is followed by the front vowel /i/. He also uses the phrase "*māyiruntūvi*"[34]; basing on the increasing frequency we may recognise three historical strata. The first is the vowel cluster, the second the glide depending on the vowel preceding it and the third the glide depending on the vowel following it. Though remnants of the first two strata are found in Tolkāppiyar's text, as it is preserved to day, the third stratum seems to be more frequent.

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32. Perhaps the later conventional writing system introduced by the copyists of Tolkāppiyam should also be taken into account in an age when texts were handed down as *śruti* as something heard and memorised rather than necessarily as a written text.
33. TC *sūtra* 1
34. TP *marapiyal sūtra* 48

1.5.3.1.10. Supra-segmental phonemes. Tolkāppiyar had not analysed the supra-segmental phonemes or the prosodials. Therefore from the phonemic point of view there may be an ambiguity when two different constitutes undergoing *sandhi* changes independently and coming to assume the same phonemic shape[35]. *cempoṉpatiṉṟoṭi* with different junctures can represent the original words *cempu - oṉpatiṉ toṭi* "nine measures of copper" or *cempoṉ-patiṉṟoṭi* "ten measures of pure gold". The ambiguity is resolved at the morphemic level or at the word level, for there will be word pause [or juncture]. The sounds when the pause is not taken into consideration look alike; the meaning however is clear in spite of *sandhi.* That is because there is variation in the pronunciation "*icaiyiṟṟirital*". What is hinted at by this by Tolkāppiyar is probably "*the juncture*" in the modern linguistic phraseology. This alteration in the *sandhi* depending upon the way in which the words are pronounced [i.e. with juncture] is according to Tolkāppiyar a permanent feature. He hastens to add in the *sūtra* 143 that this kind of *sandhi* difference cannot be shown by any obligatory writing system. It cannot be shown even phonemically, [because of the absence of any written marks for junctures etc.]. The meaning is clear only because of the context.

Thus ends the chapter called *puṇariyal* which gives the general idea about two words coming together phonologically and syntactically. It also states certain changes which occur when case signs and *cāriyais* are added within one word or one constitute. These changes will not be discussed later when the *sandhi* rules are described in relation to the endings. These *sandhi* rules are in a sense internal *sandhi* rules which

35. TE *sūtra* 142

what the commentators will term *karuvi* rather than *puṟa-p-puṟa-c-ceykai.*

1.5.3.2. Comparison of *Naṉṉūl* with *Tolkāppiyam:* Naṉṉūl does not feel the creative effort which Tolkāppiyar has put forward in analysing *sandhi* in his *puṇariyal.* Perhaps by the time of Pavaṇanti the creative analysis in Tolkāppiyam has become a matter of common knowledge for all. Therefore he summarises in a few *sūtras* the whole of *puṇariyal*. Pavaṇanti uses the words "*puṇarpu* ~ *puṇarppu*" for *sandhi*. *Sūtras* 104, 108, 109 in Tolkāppiyam are all summarised in his *sūtra* 96. The statements made in *sūtras* 105, 106 have been omitted by Naṉṉūl. The statement made in *sūtra* 107 is found in Naṉṉūl 54 which comes under the chapter *eḻuttiyal*. *Sūtra* 110 in Tolkāppiyam is found in Naṉṉūl 99. *Sūtra* 111 of TE which speaks of the two adjacent words coming in *sandhi* is not stated in Naṉṉūl since Pavaṇanti does not feel any difficulty about certain adjacent words not being immediate constituents. He leaves that to the study of morphology and syntax in *collatikārām*, where in a sentence unconnected words can come and stand as absolutes '*iṭai-p-piṟa varal*' [*sūtra* 350]. Since *sandhi* changes depend upon syntax, he could not altogether neglect it. He mentions the two distinctions *vēṟṟumai-y-alvaḻi* and *vēṟṟumai*. That is only for the purpose of taking any word which follows another for the purpose of *sandhi*. He has coined the phrase "*taḻuvu toṭar*" where two words come together being connected in meaning; but he has not himself mentioned what may be implied therein as its opposite i.e. "*taḻā-t-toṭar*" where the words follow each other though they are not immediate constituents. *Sūtra* 112 which speaks about *maruviṉ tokuti* is relegated to *peyariyal* in Naṉṉūl 267. TE 113 is found in

Naṉṉūl 188 and here Naṉṉūl does not say anything about *vēṟṟumai* etc. *Sūtra* 114 corresponds to Naṉṉūl [*Peyariyal*] 292. All that Tolkāppiyar states in this *puṇariyal* about *cāriyai*, and case signs viz., TE 115, 116, 117, 119 to 134 Pavaṇanti relegates to *urupu puṇariyal*. That is because he is not trying to analyse the difficulty of immediate constituents. *Sūtra* 186 in Naṉṉūl corresponds to 117 in Tolkāppiyam. *Sūtra* 189 in Naṉṉūl in a way corresponds to 120 in Tolkāppiyam. So also TE *sūtras* 135, 136, 137 and 138 are summarised in Naṉṉūl 71. *Sūtra* 139 in Tolkāppiyam [i. e. the *sūtra* where the consonantal ending, when followed by a vowel, becomes a syllable] is dealt with under *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* in Nāṉṉūl. *Sūtra* 140 has been omitted in Naṉṉūl The *Sūtra* 141 about glide is treated under vowel ending in *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* in Naṉṉūl in 107. *Sūtras* 142 and 143 in Tolkāppiyam are relegated to syntax and they are dealt with in 335 in Naṉṉūl *collatikāram*.

1.5.4 TOKAIMARAPU

1.5.4.1 TOKAIMARAPU

1.5.4.1.1 Definition : The fifth chapter in Tolkāppiyam is called *tokaimarapu*; *marapu* is the usage (or perhaps grammar); *tokai* means a group. After having dealt with the preliminaries with reference to the *sandhi* of two constituents Tolkāppiyar actually takes up the description of the *sandhi* rules. He takes the first unit and deals with them according to their ending. He deals with them in the serial order of vowel endings then of the consonantal endings and thirdly of the kuṟṟiyalukaram endings which are thus dealt with in the 7th, 8th and 9th chapters respectively. Before the individual endings are thus dealt with, he discusses in the fifth chapter certain endings which behave alike on the basis of some principle or other. Because of the grouping of these endings which all behave in one way, this chapter is called *tokaimarapu.*

1.5.4.1.2 Behaviour of the nasals : There is the tendency in the Dravidian languages for the final nasals to be lost whereafter the words remain as vowel endings. But in old compounds and phrases [still remaining in the language] the nasal endings will be found. Instead of taking the words as originally ending in a nasal which is lost from the word when it is utterance final, Tolkāppiyar takes the free form without the nasal as the basic form and generalises that in compounds and phrases the nasal comes in between the first word and the second word[1]. In all those places, Tolkāppiyar

1. See TE *sūtras* 218 etc.

states that the nasals will be coming in. The plosives which begin a word are four – /k/, /c/, /t/ and /p/. The nasal coming in becomes in such cases the homorganic nasal. In such cases where there is the emergent nasal, the nasal should be taken as /ṅ/, /ñ/ /n/ and /m/ according to the following initial plosives /k/, /c/, /t/ and /p/ respectively[2].

1.5.4.1.1.3 Changes in the second unit: Tolkāppiyar takes up the words beginning in nasals viz., /ñ/, /n/, /m/, in semi-vowels viz., /y/ and /v/ and those beginning in vowels coming as the second unit of a *sandhi*. These do not undergo any change, whatever be the first unit[3]. In some cases, the nasal beginnings of the second unit optionally double, perhaps on the analogy of initial plosives doubling in the second unit. But this analogy in the age of Tolkāppiyam spread only to the words of more than two letters[4].

1.5.4.1.1.4 Changes in the first unit

1 5.4.1.1.41 /ṇ/ and /ṉ/ endings: Having thus dealt with the initial sounds of the second unit, Tolkāppiyar proceeds to discuss the changes which occur to the endings of the first unit. There can be no plosive ending. Among the nasals /ṇ/ and /ṉ/ behave alike. First of all he states a rule which is in a way applicable to the initial of the second unit also. When either of these nasal endings is followed by a verb, there is no difference between the initial /y/ and the initial /ñ/[5]. These seem to be neutralised in that position.

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2. TE *sūtra* 144
3. Ibid *sūtra* 145
4. Ibid *sūtra* 146
5. Ibid *sūtra* 147

This may be taken either as a nasalisation of /y/ due to the preceding nasal or it may be that in Tamil /ñ/ was the original and because of the nasal preceding, people took the /ñ/ as only a /y/. *yā* is the only root given as an example. But there is the word /*ñāṇ*/ (which means string or cord) probably connected with this *yā* 'bind' where /ñ/ is the original initial. If this *sūtra* is to be interpreted as dealing with nasalisation, the nasal /ñ/ can be omitted from the Proto-Dravidian and Tamil phonemes. But the wording of the *sūtra* however is not clearly in support of this theory of nasalisation.

All the sounds which occur initially in the second unit effect no change in the previous word ending in /ṇ/ or /ṉ/ whilst the latter is standing in *alvaḻi* relationship. i.e. whilst the first word is the noun in the nominative case[6]. Even when the grammatical relationship is *vēṟṟumai* the same rule holds good except when the initial sound of the second unit is the plosive[7].

1.5.4.1.1.42 /l/ and /ḷ/ endings: He passes on to consider the first unit ending in either /l/ or /ṉ/ when the second unit begins with /t/ or /n/. Such a cluster is not allowed by the Tamil of Tolkāppiyar's age and therefore the dentals become alveolar. Similarly the endings /ṇ/ or /ḷ/ cannot cluster with the initial /t/ or /n/. Tolkāppiyar therefore states that /t/ and /n/ become /ṭ/ and /ṇ/ respectively. It is the change of the initial sounds of the second unit that is dealt with in these *sūtras*[8].

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6. Ibid *sūtra* 148
7. Ibid *sūtra* 149
8. Ibid *sūtras* 150 and 151.

1.5.4.1.5 CHANGES IN THE SECOND UNIT

1.5.4.1.51 Plosives - exception: Tolkāppiyar proceeds to discuss the word in the second unit beginning with a plosive, when preceded by second person verb ending in a vowel or a consonant. He states that there are two rules here[9]; according to one the plosive optionally doubles (*uṟaḻ pu*); according to the other there is no change whatever (*iyalpu*). It is not clear as to what the conditions are which determine the operation of these two different rules. The second person words here mentioned are those in the imperative mood. There are certain rules which get, for instance, the future sign /*p*/ doubled before the root. Perhaps such rules undergo the optional doubling. Others follow the no-change rule. But there is an exception to these rules. The imperative verbs ending in (1) /*au*/ amongst vowels, (2) /*ñ*/, /*n*/, /*m*/, /*v*/ amongst consonants and (3) kuṟṟiyalukaram will not be found as having their natural endings in such cases[10]. The vowel and the consonantal endings will get an [euphonic] /*u*/. The kuṟṟiyalukaram when it is not utterance final will become a muṟṟiyalukaram or the fully rounded /*u*/. But the commentators point out that the plosives will double even in such cases. When the plosive doubles (according to *sūtra* 410) the vaṉṟoṭar–k-kuṟṟiyalukaram should become once again a kuṟṟiyalukaram when followed by a plosive. According this *sūtra* this will not happen because of the emphatic way in which the words of imperative mood are uttered. Interpreted this way the statement that the imperative verbs ending in /*au*/, /*ñ*/, /*n*/, /*m*/, /*v*/ and kuṟṟiyalukaram do not continue to have such an ending becomes clear.

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9. Ibid *sūtra* 152
10. Ibid *sūtra* 153

1.5.4.1.1.6 Nouns belonging to human category : Tolkāppiyar considers that the nouns belonging to *uyartiṇai*, "the human category" whether they end in vowels or consonants, will undergo no change when occurring as the first unit in a constitute, whatever be the grammatical relation with reference to the second unit and whatever be the initial sound of the second unit[11]. But there is an exception to this rule i.e. with reference to the words of the human category ending in vowel /*i*/[12]. There are also certain words which are found in the usage to be common [as proper names or as names of relationship], to both the human and non-human categories. These are called *a°°ṟiṇai viravu-p-peyar*. These also follow the rule of no-change applicable to the human category[13].

1.5.4.1.1.7 Exceptions : There are certain other exceptions to the rules which will be stated hereafter or which have been stated already. The first exception refers to phrases where the first word in the constitute is the agent, having the meaning of the third case sign[14]. The noun has to be translated according to the noun concerned. This first unit may end in a vowel or a consonant and the rule must have prescribed the doubling of the coming plosive. In such a case there are two rules applicable - one is of no-change; the other is of optional doubling. Tolkāppiyar says that this has to be understood whenever there is *vēṟṟumai sandhi*, for instance *nāy* "dog" can form a constitute - *nāy kōṭpaṭṭāṉ* where *nāy* means 'by the dog'. But *nāy-k-kōṭpaṭṭāṉ* can be taken

11. Ibid 145
12. Ibid 155
13. Ibid 156
14. Ibid 157

as *nāykkōḷ+paṭṭāṉ*, when *nāykkōḷ* may mean "the hold of the dog" and *paṭṭāṉ* "he has suffered it". In that case *nāy* will be in the genitive case and therefore the doubling will be in order. It is probably because of this ambiguity, there is the optional doubling. Where such ambiguity does not arise as in *nāy cārappaṭṭāṉ*, the rule of no-change will apply.

1.5.4.1.1.8 **Accusative case constitutes :** The most important exception relates to the constitute where the first unit is in the accusative or objective case[15]. When the case sign is absent the noun will be like the nominative. To avoid confusion in such cases the ordinary rule either of change or of no-change will not apply. This very exceptional behaviour of such a word will make it clear that the word is in the accusative case and not in the nominative case. If a nasal where to emerge, under the ordinary rule, the plosive will double as an exception; where the plosive has to double, a nasal will come in; where there should be no change there will be doubling; where a vowel has to come in, it will not come in where a *cāriyai* should come in, it will not, where there is a *cāriyai*, second case sign also may be explicit; where there should be no *cāriyai* there will be optional doubling or alternation of the consonants. In all these ways because of these exceptions the word in the accusative case will be distinguished from a word in the nominative case. In the human category the second case sign will not ordinarily suffer an ellipsis; the same thing will apply to *aṟṟiṉai viravu-p-peyar*; as already mentioned, the change wlll not happen where the rule prescribes that the consonant is changed into other. There will be such exceptional behaviour with reference

15. Ibid 158

to the second case *sandhi* for the purpose of clearing the ambiguity as already described.

1.5.4.1.1.9 Words ending in /*i*/ and /*ai*/: Tolkāppiyar proceeds to consider words ending in /*i*/ and /*ai*/. [/*ai*/ also behaves in a way like /*i*/ ending]. When they occur as the first unit in the constitute and where the first word is in the nominative case, there are three rules:- the first is no-change; the second is the doubling of the plosive following it and the third is the optional doubling[16]. Here also the conditions deciding the varying behaviours are not clear. Perhaps the no-change rule applies to the nouns in the nominative case containing more than two letters. The optional rule relates to words of two short syllables. The doubling rule probably relates to words put in apposition with each other which later on develop into *irupeyar oṭṭu* "unit of two nouns". These nouns are not of the human category because they have been dealt with already.

1.5.4.1.1.10 Changes in the demonstrative and Interrogative words: He also deals with the demonstrative and interrogative words which end in /*i*/ and /*ai*/[17]. In the case of /*ai*/ ending the demonstrative and interrogatives bases are all long syllables. These form an exception to the above *sūtra*. Here there is no compulsory no-change rule. *atōḷi* etc., and *āṇṭai* etc., follow the compulsory doubling rule; *avvaḻi* etc., *aṅkavai* [which is treated as one word] etc., follow the optional doubling. These are according to the commentators. We have no other source for understanding this *sūtra*.

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16. Ibid 159
17. Ibid 160

1.5.4.1.1.11 Change of final consonants. Tolkāppiyar proceeds to consider certain groups of words which change their final consonants[18]. If there is a short closed syllable, its ending doubles when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. Unfortunately Tolkāppiyar does not mention this. But this may be understood from the next *sūtra.* If the word consists of a long close syllable, then its final consonant will be lost. Here also the conditions are not mentioned. This loss of the final consonant will apply only to /*l*/ or /*ḷ*/ ending when followed by /*t*/ or /*n*/. If *sūtra* 150 had occurred before this *sūtra* things might have been much clearer.

The doubling of the final consonant does not occur in forms like *tam*, *nam*, *taṉ* and *eṉ* which are altered forms of *tām*, *nām*, *tāṉ* and *yāṉ*[19]. This is the group of words where the initial syllable becomes shortened. Their alternant forms before taking the sixth or fourth case sign end in an /*a*/. But when this /*a*/ occurs in *tam* etc., the final consonant of the short close syllable in these words do not double[20]. This rule applies to *num* also[21].

1.5.4.1.1.12 The euphonic /*u*/: Tolkāppiyar proceeds to consider all those consonantal endings which get an euphonic /*u*/ after them in *sandhi.* But that /*u*/ is not necessary when the consonantal ending is followed by a word

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18. Ibid *sūtra* 161
19. See TE *sūtras* 189 and 193.
20. TE *sūtra* 162
21. Ibid *sūtra* 163. According to Tolkāppiyar *num* is the original base and *nīyir* is its altered form. See TE *sūtra* 327

beginning in a vowel or /y/ which is also an ancient /i/. Therefore the rule of the coming in of /u/ will not apply to such cases[22].

1.5.4.1.1.13 Words of measurement weight and number: Tolkāppiyar turns to the group of words of measurement, weight and number whether they end in consonant or vowel. When they are the first unit and when they are followed by a word showing their fraction, in between the two comes in the *cāriyai* /ē/[23]. Here is given a syntactical construction for these words. These are really words of coordinate construction, what in Tamil is called *ummai-t-tokai.* /ē/ has the force of an additive conjunction and therefore might have in origin meant a conjunction equal to the English "*and*". It is called elsewhere *eṉṉēkāram.* But it must have lost that force when that construction came to be looked upon as a compound as in Tolkāppiyam which may be taken to reflect the consciousness of the speaker of that age. There is an exception to this rule of /ē/ *cāriyai* when the second word is *arai* "half". In such a case there is no *cāriyai*[24]. If the second word is *kuṟai* "a measurement" then its plosive gets doubled, a doubling which will be stated hereafter as the rule for *vēṟṟumai sandhi*[25]. But when the second word is *kuṟai* whilst the first word ends in a kuṟṟiyalukaram the latter gets an /iṉ/ *cāriyai*[26] [and not the *vēṟṟumai* rule]. If the first word preceding *kuṟai* is *kalam* "a measurement"

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22. Ibid *sūtra* 164
23. Ibid *sūtra* 165
24. Ibid *sūtra* 166
25. Ibid *sūtra* 167
26. Ibid *sūtra* 168

then the *cāriyai* /*attu*/ comes in between[27]. If *kuṟai* is preceded by the word of measurement *paṉai* and the word of weight *kā*, there also the /*iṉ*/ *cāriyai* comes in[28].

1.5.4.1.1.131 The initial sounds of words denoting measurement etc. Here follow three *sūtras*. The first states that words denoting measurement or weight begin with one or other of the nine sounds. These sounds are then listed as viz., /*k*/, /*c*/, /*t*/, /*p*/, /*n*/, /*m*/, /*v*/, /*a*/ and /*u*/[29]. Even the commentators feel that this *sūtra* is not in its proper place and therefore they try to explain its existence with great difficulty.

1.5.4.1.1.14 Residual *sūtra*: Next is the residual *sūtra*[30]. This contemplates the case when words ending in various ways are to be described in terms of their natural behaviour in *sandhi*. The words have been described already in various ways. This is because certain groups have been said to follow more than one rule and it has not been specified under what conditions these different rules operate. In such cases one must go to the actual usage to find out the conditions. What are found appropriate in the usage should be accepted as the proper *sandhi* behaviour for such words under such conditions.

1.5.4.1.1.15 *Sūtra* 173: The chapter should have ended here because usually one does not get any *sūtra* after the residual *sūtra*. Unfortunately there is a *sūtra* which is

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27. Ibid *sūtra* 169
28. Ibid *sūtra* 170
29. Ibid *sūtra* 171
30. Ibid *sūtra* 172

said to describe *marūu* or 'colloquial distortions' if one may use that term. The *sūtra* itself uses the word *maruviṉ pātti.* The epicene plural *yāvar* "who" becomes *yār*; the non-human interrogative singular *yātu* "which" becomes *yāvatu* probably on the analogy of *yāvar.* It is very doubtful whether this *sūtra* belongs to Tolkāppiyam and even if it did whether it should be here.

1.5.4.2 COMPARISON OF *Tolkāppiyam* WITH *Naṉṉūl.*

As usual one may rightly compare the *tokai marapu* chapter with Naṉṉūl in a summary way.

Sūtra 144 in Tolkāppiyam does not find a place in Naṉṉūl. Instead, Naṉṉūl, whenever it lays down the coming in of a nasal uses the word *iṉa melleḻuttu* or homorganic nasal[31]. In some places Naṉṉūl does not use the word *iṉa-meli* as in 123, 180 but uses *meli.*

Sūtra 145 in Tolkāppiyam is summarised in 103 in Naṉṉūl but only with reference to the words beginning with /*ñ*/, /*n*/, /*m*/, /*y*/ and /*v*/. The words beginning with vowels are omitted, because by the time of Naṉṉūl the glides have come to occur in between vowels in all cases, when two vowels come together. The doubling of the consonant when followed by a vowel or the consonant and the vowel forming a syllabic letter with the consonant are considered as real changes by others. Therefore Naṉṉūl deals with them seperately; the *uṭampaṭumey* is treated in *sūtra* 107, the doubling in *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* 150 and the syllabic letter also in *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* 149.

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31. See Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 111, 120, 145 and 169.

Sūtra 146 in Tolkāppiyam has probably ceased to be the rule except in words ending in /*y*/, when preceded by a short syllable and in monosyllabic words ending in /*ai*/ and in the specific words /*no*/ and /*tu*/. Naṉṉūl also adds an exception to this rule that /*n*/ will change[32]. This is because of the rule about this change of /*n*/ being described in Naṉṉūl only in *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal*, in *sūtra* 152 whereas in Tolkāppiyam it comes more or less immediately as an exception to its *sūtra* 145.

Sūtra 147 is omitted as no more operative in the age of Naṉṉūl. *Sūtras* 148 and 149 are dealt with under 154. Similarly *sūtras* 150 and 151, are dealt under 182 in Naṉṉūl under their respective endings.

Sūtra 152 of Tolkāppiyam is dealt with in 152 in Naṉṉūl. But there, even the verbal noun forms are also taken into consideration. It also summarises 163 of Tolkāppiyam and the various *sūtras* which lay down the coming in of an euphonic /*u*/[33]. Naṉṉūl summarises these and also *sūtra* 153 of Tolkāppiyam because it lays down the euphonic /*u*/ even after the imperative form. /*u*/ is suggested only in Tolkāppiyam with reference to /*ñ*/, /*n*/, /*m*/ and /*v*/. In all these cases the vowel endings and also the /*y*/, /*r*/, /*ḻ*/ endings are omitted by Naṉṉūl because they are dealt with in *sūtra* 106.

The *sūtras* 154, 155 and 156 are summarised in 104 in Naṉṉūl. Certain changes have been noted with reference to *uyartiṇai* by commentators like Iḷampūraṇar and Naṉṉūl provides for them also.

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32. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 103
33. See TE *sūtras* 297, 307, 328, 377 and 402.

Sūtra 157 has been relegated to *urupu puṇariyal* and summarised in *sūtra* 201. Similarly *sūtra* 158 is summarised in 200 in Naṉṉūl.

Sūtra 159 is summarised under the /*i*/ ending in *sūtra* 121 in Naṉṉūl. Perhaps *sūtra* 160 of Tolkāppiyam will come under 121 because of the extended meaning given to *alvaḻi*. *Sūtra* 161 is covered by Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 150 and 174. Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 162 and 163 are relegated to Naṉṉūl *urupu puṇariyal sūtra* 192. *Sūtra* 164 of Tolkāppiyam as already stated is covered partly by 152 in Naṉṉūl. But a new rule has come in the later age where when /*y*/ follows any word ending in a consonant an /*i*/ comes in between[34].

As for the imperatives followed by a vowel they will follow the ordinary rule mentioned in Naṉṉūl 149. It is by way of abundant caution that Tolkāppiyar has mentioned this *sūtra* 164 lest anybody should interpret 153 as laying down the euphonic /*u*/ even when /*a*/ follows.

The *sūtras* 165 to 171 dealing with the words of measurement etc., are omitted as probably not of frequent occurrence. As far as /*ē*/ is concerned it is possible that Naṉṉūl has taken it as an *eṇ ēkāram* whenever it occurs in such context.

The *sūtra* 172 of Tolkāppiyam is the residual rule and finds no place in Naṉṉūl in so far as it refers to the usage. The *sūtra* 173 of Tolkāppiyam is omitted probably as it has to be brought under 211 in *collatikāram* in Naṉṉūl.

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34. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 151

1.5.5 URUPIYAL

1.5.5.1 SCHEME OF *Tolkāppiyam*

1.5.5.1.1 **Definition of urupiyal:** The sixth chapter in Tolkāppiyam is called *urupiyal.* In *puṇariyal* itself, it was stated that case signs or *urupu* come after the nouns to form one unit. It was also stated therein that the *cāriyai* will come in between the nouns and the case signs.[1] Noun+*cāriyai* form the stem for taking case sign i.e. the declinable stem. Dr. Caldwell calls them oblique forms because according to him the *cāriyais* are old or oblique case signs. This chapter deals with the distribution of *cāriyais* and also the changes the nouns undergo when taking these *cāriyais* and case signs. According to the scheme of Tolkāppiyam the individual endings will be dealt with in the last three chapters. Those endings which can be grouped together because they follow the same rule are being dealt with under *tokai marapu* if there is no *cāriyai* and in this *urupiyal,* if there is a *cāriyai*. *Urupiyal* deals with such rules when they relate to the *urupu sandhi.*

1.5.5.1.2 *Cāriyais*

1.5.5.1.2.1 **For the vowel endings:** When words [here nouns] ending in /*a*/, /*ā*/, /*u*/, /*ū*/, /*ē*/ and /*au*/ take a case sign the *cāriyai* /*iṉ*/ intervenes[2]. Next follow certain special rules with reference to some of these endings. The plural nouns of the non-human category, ending in /*a*/ take the *cāriyai*

1. TE *sūtras* 114, 117 and 119.
2. Ibid *sūtra* 174

/vaṟṟu/ without any exception[3]. So does the word *yā* ending in /ā/[4] The demonstrative nouns ending in /u/ [eg. *atu*] take the *cāriyai* /aṉ/ when their final /u/ is lost[5]. The demonstratives ending in /ai/ (*avai*) take the *cāriyai* /vaṟṟu/[6]. So does the interrogative noun beginning in /yā/ and ending in /ai/ [*yāvai*][7]. But in that case the final /–vai/ of the noun is lost. Even as the form with the *cāriyai* is considered as an alternant of the basic noun other alterations are also mentioned here. The nominative second person singular *nī* gets shortened and the consonant /ṉ/ is added thereto i.e. *nī*>*niṉ* "your (sg.)"[8]. The third person plural pronoun *tām* and I person plural pronouns *nām* and *yām* get their long vowels, shortened i.e. *tām*>*tam*; *nām*>*nam*. The initial /y/ is lost and the /ā/ following that /y/ becomes /e/. i.e. *yām*>*em*[9]. *tāṉ* and *yāṉ* also behave like this[10]. e.g. *tāṉ*>*tuṉ*; *yāṉ*>*eṉ*. The names of trees ending in /a/ or /ā/ take the *cāriyai* /attu/ when the seventh case sign follows[12] [e.g. *viḷavattukkaṇ*; *palāvattukkaṇ*].

The noun ending in /ō/ gets the *cāriyai* /oṉ/ [e.g. *kō*+*oṉ*> *kōoṉ* "king"[11].

1.5.5.1.2.2 For the consonantal endings

1.5.5.1.2.21 /ñ/, /n/, /m/ etc. Then begin the consonantal endings. Nouns ending in /ñ/ and /n/ take the *cāriyai* /iṉ/[13]. The demonstrative noun ending in /v/ behaves

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3. Ibid *sūtra* 175
4. Ibid *sūtra* 176
5. Ibid *sūtra* 177
6. Ibid *sūtra* 178
7. Ibid *sūtra* 179
8. Ibid *sūtra* 180
9. Ibid *sūtra* 189
10. Ibid *sūtra* 193
11. Ibid *sūtra* 181
12. Ibid *sūtra* 182
13. Ibid *sūtrū* 183

like *yāvai* losing its final /*-vai*/[14]. The other nouns ending in /*v*/ take the *cāriyai* /*iṉ*/[15]. Nouns ending in /*m*/ take the *cāriyai* /*attu*/[16]. When it takes the *cāriyai* the final /*m*/ is lost according to rule 134. There are a few words ending in /*m*/ which take the *cāriyai* /*iṉ*/ [e.g. *urum+iṉ>urumiṉ* "thunder"][17]. But the pronoun *num* does not take any *cāriyai*[18] [Perhaps it will be better to say that the noun itself is the oblique form or declinable stem]. Here follows *sūtra* 189 already described and the forms *tam*, *nam* and *em* also do not take any *cāriyai* according to this *sūtra*.

1.5.5.1.2.22 **For** *ellām*: The word *ellām* "all" takes the *cāriyai* /*vaṟṟu*/ and after that *cāriyai* comes in /*um*/ at the end after the case sign[19]. [e.g. *ellāvaṟṟaiyum*]. The word *ellām* may be I person plural which according to Tolkāppiyam belongs to the human category. It may mean also the III person [non-human] plural. If it is the latter it behaves as described above. If, however, it is *uyartiṇai* the *cāriyai* is not /*vaṟṟu*/ but /*nam*/[20]. The III person plural *ellārum* and the II person plural *ellīrum* are next discussed. In between *ellār* and *um* come the *cāriyai* /*tam*/ and the case sign; in between *ellīr* and *um* come the *cāriyai* /*num*/ and the case sign[21].

1.5.5.1.2.23 **For** /*ṉ*/ **ending:** Nouns ending in /*ṉ*/ are taken up for consideration. *tāṉ* "one self" and *yāṉ* "I" which

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14. Ibid *sūtra* 184
15. Ibid *sūtra* 185
16. Ibid *sūtra* 186
17. Ibid *sūtra* 187
18. Ibid *sūtra* 188
19. Ibid *sūtra* 190
20. Ibid *sūtra* 191
21. Ibid *sūtra* 192. Iḷampūraṇar points out that these *cāriyais* come after other II and III person plurals. They have to be covered by the general exceptional rule.

are already described, come here in *sūtra* 193. *Sūtra* 194 deals with two words *a*ḻ*a*ṉ "corpse" and *pu*ḻ*a*ṉ "?" whose endings do not alternate with /*m*/[22]. They take the *cāriyai* /*i*ṉ/; but on the analogy of words whose /ṉ/ endings alternate with /*m*/ endings, these also take the *cāriyai* /*attu*/. Therefore the *sūtra* says "that these two words either take /*attu*/ or /*i*ṉ/ according to those who know the usage"[23].

1.5.5.1.2.24 For /ḻ/ **endings.** There is only one numeral which ends in /ḻ/. The word is *ē*ḻ "seven" which is more frequent than the form *ē*ḻ*u*. It takes the *cāriyai* /*a*ṉ/[24]. This is probably because on the analogy of other numerals which end in kuṟṟiyalukaram and take the *cāriyai* /*a*ṉ/. This is contemplated in *sūtra* 199. Perhaps other consonantal endings also including /ḻ/ take the *cāriyai* /*i*ṉ/. /*a*ṉ/ and /*attu*/ thus seem to be the more frequent *cāriyais*.

1.5.5.1.3 *kuṟṟiyalukaram ending*: Finally coming to the words ending in kuṟṟiyalukaram it is stated that these uniformly take the *cāriyai* /*i*ṉ/[25]. But there are certain words which do not behave like that, especially amongst those kuṟṟiyalukarams preceded only by an open long syllable. These get their plosives doubled in the final syllables[26]. (These are words which have for their final syllable /ṭ*u*/ or /ṟ*u*/). Such words do not take any *cāriyai*[27]. *Sūtra* 199 which prescribes the /*a*ṉ/ *cāriyai* for numerals ending in kuṟṟiyalukaram comes in here. Those are the compounds where the first word is the bound form of numerals beginning from *o*ṉṟ*u* etc., and the second word is *pattu* "ten". These

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22. See TE *sūtra* 82
23. TE *sūtra* 194
24. Ibid *sūtra* 195
25. Ibid *sūtra* 196
26. Ibid *sūtra* 197
27. Ibid *sūtra* 198

compounds themselves are numerals. The word for ten is *pa°°tu.* When these compound numerals take the case sign, in the later part of the compound viz., *pa°°tu* /*p*/ alone may remain and *a°°tu* may be lost and this happens when the *cāriyai* /*ā<u>n</u>*/ comes in between the case sign and the compound numeral[28]. (e.g. orupa°°tu = orupā<u>n</u>); otherwise the *cāriyai* is /*i<u>n</u>*/. The interrogative pronoun *yātu* and the demonstrative pronouns beginning in the demonstrative base and ending in āytam take the *cāriyai* /*a<u>n</u>*/ and in such a place the āytam is lost.[29]

Finally come the nouns of direction which also end in ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalukaram. These may take the usual *cāriyai* /*i<u>n</u>*/ but may also occur without any *cāriyai.* When there is no *cāriyai*, the final syllable is lost. This rule applies when these words take the locative case sign[30]. e.g. *vaṭakk-i<u>n</u>-kaṇ* / *vaṭa-k-kaṇ.*

All the other words ending in vowels or consonants which are not mentioned here, when analysed and seen, do not compulsorily take any *cāriyai* whilst suffixed to a case sign[31].

1.5.5.2 SCHEME OF *Na<u>n</u><u>n</u>ūl*

Na<u>n</u><u>n</u>ūl deals with all the changes occurring when the nouns take the case signs. Some of the changes are treated in *puṇariyal* in Tolkāppiyam and some in *urupiyal.* Pavaṇanti calls his chapter *urupu puṇariyal* rather than *urupiyal.* According to him the *sandhi* of the noun and the *urupu* is also considered as a *sandhi* of two words; for,the *iṭaiccols* including *urupu* have an independent existence though attached to nouns or verbs.

28. Ibid *sūtra* 200
29. Ibid *sūtra* 201
30. Ibid *sūtra* 202
31. Ibid *sūtra* 203

1.5.5.2.1 Comparison: The first *sūtra* in Nannūl *urupu puṇariyal* deals with the case signs. "There are five divisions among nouns which alone take the case signs viz., masculine, feminine, epicene, non-human singular and non-human plural and there are eight cases. If these two are multiplied, we get forty case signs"[32] But this is in slavish imitation of Sanskrit grammar where the case signs differ according to gender and number. In Tamil the case sign is common to all numbers, genders and persons. Pavaṇanti hastens to add that the case sign comes after the noun for the purpose of making the significance explicit[33]. This corresponds to TE 117.

1.5.5.2.2 Distinction between *vēṟṟumaittoṭar* **and** *vēṟṟumaittokai*: A distinction has come to be made between *vēṟṟumai-t-toṭar* and *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai*, that is, where the case sign is explicit and where it suffers an ellipsis respectively. It is the latter which is called *vēṟṟumai* for the purpose of *sandhi*. As already explained, Tolkāppiyar explains the immediate constituents first and then the rules of *sandhi*. According to him the noun, the *cāriyai* and the case sign form one unit. But evidently for Pavaṇanti *urupu* has an independent *sandhi* and both *cāriyai* and other changes occur without great difference both in *vēṟṟumai sandhi* and also in *urupu sandhi*[34]. Really speaking *urupu puṇariyal* deals only with *cāriyai*, the *cāriyai* coming inside a word before a suffix. It occurs when two words come together; the second word may be a case sign. In one *sandhi* there can be one or more *cāriyais*. There will be cases where the *cāriyai* is

32. Nannūl *sūtra* 185
33. Ibid *sūtra* 186
34. Ibid *sūtra* 187

compulsory; secondly there will be cases where the *cāriyai* is not necessary and thirdly cases where the *cāriyai* is optional. This is the explanation given by Pavaṇanti with reference to *cāriyai*. This *sūtra* 188 corresponds to *sūtra* 113 in Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.5.2.3 Enumeration of *cāriyais*: The next *sūtra* enumerates the *cāriyais*[35]. This corresponds to *sūtra* 120 in Tolkāppiyam. Instead of /*vaṟṟu*/ Pavaṇanti mentions /*aṟṟu*/; instead of taking /*iṟṟu*/ as an alternant of /*iṉ*/ he mentions it as an independent *cāriyai*. Tolkāppiyam mentions /*tam*/, /*nam*/, /*num*/ and also /*ē*/ in 189, 191 and 164, though not in *sūtra* 120. Tolkāppiyar also does not mention the *cāriyai* which consists of only one letter. He does not mention open short syllables because as already pointed out, they are not in the canonical form prescribed for words. But Pavaṇanti does not make any distinction between *cāriyai* and euphonic sounds like Tolkāppiyar. Pavaṇanti does not look upon the *cāriyais* in /*āṉ*/ and /*kōoṉ*/ as /*iṉ*/ and /*oṉ*/. Instead he takes them as representing the consonantal *cāriyai* /*ṉ*/. He also introduces the new *cāriyai* /*al*/ which may be treated as a suffix as in *toṭaiyal* "garland" where /*al*/ will be the double suffix along with /*ai*/. He therefore enumerates seventeen *cāriyais* viz., *aṉ*, *āṉ*, *iṉ*, *al*, *aṟṟu*, *iṟṟu*, *attu*, *am*, *tam*, *nam*, *num*, *ē*, *a*, *u*, *ai*, *ku*, *ṉ*[36]. He calls them *potu-c-cāriyai* "common *cāriyais*" because they occur both inside the words and in phrases. *Sūtras* 190 and 191 in Tolkāppiyam are summarised in one *sūtra* (190) in Naṉṉūl. *Sūtra* 191 corresponds to Tolkāppiyam 192. But Pavaṇanti's *sūtra* is poetic because of the suggestion contained in the

35. Ibid *sūtra* 189
36. Ibid

words *taḷḷi* and *pullum*. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 192 summarises TE *sūtras* 189, 193 and 180 and also 162. *Sūtra* 193 corresponds to Tolkāppiyam 121, but with this difference: that instead of /*iṉ*/ Pavaṇanti gives the consonant /*ṉ*/. *Sūtra* 194 corresponds to 200 in Tolkāppiyam. But the second word in the compound is not mentioned as *paᵒᵒtu*. It can be *patu* or *paᵒᵒtu* according to Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 140. *Sūtra* 195 corresponds to 123, 178, 184 of Tolkāppiyam. *Sūtra* 196 corresponds to *sūtra* 201 in Tolkāppiyam. *Sūtra* 197 is bodily taken from Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.5.2.4 **Residue**: 198 is the *sūtra* for the residue. According to Naṉṉūl the residual rules will be infinite. Therefore Pavaṇanti advises us to identify separately the suffixes, the words and the case signs. In this *sūtra* he recognises *pata-c-cāriyai* and *eḻuttu-c-cāriyais*. *Pata-c-cāriyais* are those *cāriyais* in the canonical form of words; *eḻuttu-c-cāriyais* are those in the form of letters; there may be also cases where none of these occur. Having analysed words and phrases in this way, the rules about the *cāriyai*, he states, must be mentioned according to the usage of the learned.

1.5.5.2.5 **Exception**: The next *sūtra* 199 deals with the *sandhi* with reference to the final suffix, *patam*, *cāriyai* and *urupu*. But these rules are not universal. Therefore one should choose the rules which will be proper for a particular usage. *Sūtra* 200 summarises *sūtra* 157 of Tolkāppiyam; similarly 201 summarises 156 of Tolkāppiyam.

Sūtra 201 is for the residue to the whole *atikāram*. It states that with the help of the rules already given other usages also should be explained.

1.5.6. UYIRMAYAṄKIYAL

1.5.6.1 *Sūtras* ABOUT VOWEL ENDINGS IN *Tolkāppiyam*

1.5.6.1.1 INTRODUCTION

In *tokaimarapu* the *sandhi* rules for such constitutes where the second units begin with a nasal, a semi-vowel or a vowel had been described, whatever be the ending of the first unit and whatever be the grammatical relation between the first and the second units. Therefore what remain to be discussed are the *sandhi* rules applicable to such instances where in a constitute the second unit begins with a plosive and these are discussed according to the ending of the unit preceding them. The vowel endings are discussed under *uyirmayaṅkiyal* and the consonantal endings are discussed under *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal*. The kuṟṟiyalukaram endings are discussed under *kuṟṟiyalukara–p–puṇariyal*. *mayaṅkutal* is clustering or coming together of two sounds. It is significant that with reference to kuṟṟiyalukaram endings Tolkāppiyar does not use the word *mayaṅkutal,* because, as already stated kuṟṟiyalukaram does not cluster with any other sound for the simple reason, occurring as it does as an utterance final, it ceases to be kuṟṟiyalukaram when followed by any other sound. There is another set of words viz., *uyartiṇai–p–peyar* "nouns of superior category" and *aḵṟiṇai viravu-p–peyar* "nouns common to both *aḵṟiṇai* and *uyartiṇai*" coming as the first unit in the constitute. Therefore the *aḵṟiṇai-p–peyars* ending in a vowel or a consonant along with verbs remain to be discussed. Even among the verbs, the roots occurring as imperatives had already been dealt

with. In discussing these nouns with reference to every individual ending, Tolkāppiyar first deals with *alvaḻi*. But thereafter before proceeding to discuss the *vēṟṟumai* he discusses words which are not nouns. This is the arrangement he follows.

A close study of these *sandhi* chapters reveals that Tolkāppiyar has certain grouping in his mind. Hence the *sandhi* rules are explained in this chapter on that basis and not according to the order in which they are treated in Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.6.1.11 Internal reconstruction: Again an attempt has been made here to reconstruct some of the forms of the Pre-Tolkāppiyam period with the help of the *sandhi* rules. The present writer feels that this will be useful in understanding the history of Tamil language.

1.5.6.1.2 GENERAL RULE OF DOUBLING

1.5.6.1.21 For *alvaḻi* and *vēṟṟumai*: Generally speaking when a noun is followed by another word, the plosive of the second word doubles[1].

It has been suggested earlier that by *alvaḻi* Tolkāppiyar takes into consideration only the nouns[2]. This is strengthened by the way in which he treats the /i/ ending According to his scheme he must first deal with *alvaḻi* and finally with

1. For *alvaḻi*: see TE *sūtras* 204, 222 for /a/ and /ā/ endings; for /i/ ending the *alvaḻi* has been dealt with in *tokaimarapu* [*sūtra* 159] and therefore the *vēṟṟumai* alone is dealt with in *sūtra* 236. For *vēṟṟumai* see *sūtras* 217 and 222 for /a/ and /ā/ endings.
2. See the chapter on *puṇariyal*.

vēṟṟumai. If he had contemplated the non-verbs coming as a first unit in *alvaḻi sandhi* he must deal with them before describing the *vēṟṟumai*[3]. The doubling rule for other endings is given according to the alphabetical order for both *alvaḻi* and *vēṟṟumai*[4]. The nouns, here the primary nouns which are most often consist of a monosyllable or a disyllable or end in a kuṟṟiyalukaram. Therefore the derived nouns which can occur as predicate and *viṉaiyālaṇaiyum peyar* are not included. See even /*atu*/ etc., which are derived nouns do not follow this doubling rule[5].

1.5.6.1.3. EXCEPTIONS TO THE RULE OF DOUBLING

1.5.6.1.3.1 **After Predicates**: Coming to the exceptions to the rule of doubling, one may state as a general principle that wherever there is a pause viz., [1] after a predicate such as the finite verb, which includes also *viyaṅkōḷ* "optatives" and negatives [2] after the vocative or nominative of address including *amma* which can be translated as English "hullo" and [3] after words like *ceyyiya* and *ceymmaṉa*, there is no doubling[6]. The pause is not merely word pause but the pause

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3. i.e. *sūtras* 237 etc., must precede *sūtra* 236.
4. For other endings: for *alvaḻi* see *sūtras* 250, 255, 265, 275, 290 for /*ī*/, /*u*/, /*ū*/, /*ē*/ and /*ō*/ endings; for *vēṟṟumai* see *sūtras* 253, 260, 267, 281, 293 for /*ī*/, /*u*/, /*ū*/, /*ē*/, /*ō*/ endings. /*e*/ and /*o*/ do not occur as is made clear by *sūtra* 277. /*ai*/ had been already dealt with as far as *alvaḻi* is concerned and therefore *vēṟṟumai* is dealt with in 281. For /*au*/ ending see *sūtra* 297 for both *alvaḻi* and *vēṟṟumai*. But the doubling occurs only after the /*au*/ ending nouns have got an /*u*/.
5. TE *sūtra* 258
6. Ibid. 211

after a phrase or structure. *Ceyyiyu* is a *viṉai eccam* but really comparable with the *viyaṅkōḷ-vāḻiya*. Probably *ceyyiya* was also an old finite verb in origin. *ceymmaṉa* is a finite verb. The word *pala* is also a derived word with the plural suffix and therefore there is no doubling ordinarily after it. It is on a par with the predicate. The following are the other categories where also there is no doubling, for, these also can be treated as predicates.

1.5.6.1.3.2 After peyar eccam : The *peyar eccam* or the relative participle to which category *aṉṉa*[7] also really belongs do not get the following plosives doubled. This is rather surprising because one would expect that the attribute and the head will go together without any pause. The phrase *peyar eccam* + noun is probably distinguished thus from the compound. See *naṟkuṉṟu* a compound differentiated from *nalla kuṉṟu* "good hill", a *peyar eccam* phrase. The words taking the genitive case sign *atu* also do not get the following plosives doubled. A study of the history of Tamil language may explain this curiosity. But in any case we have to assume that there is a kind of pause after *peyar eccam*, a pause similar to that we get after a predicate. That was the reason probably why the genitive /*a*/ and /*atu*/ came to be confused with plural and singular appellatives or *kuṟippu viṉai*.

1.5.6.1.3.3 AFTER CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES

After the conjunctive or verbal participles also there is a pause. It has been suggested that the conjunctive participles were as in modern Malayalam originally finite verbs and this explains the pause. But there are exceptions. One is the conjunctive participle when it is *vaṉṟoṭar-k-kuṟṟiyalukaram*.

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7. Ibid

But this is because of the phonological condition already referred to. Therefore this may not be a real exception to the morphological condition mentioned here. But the conjunctive participle ending in /ā/ or /i/ or /ū/ follow the doubling rule[8]. Probably the vowels symbolise later the action and thereof by a shift past tense. Here the plosives double. Therefore it looks as though that the conjunctive participles ending in kuṟṟiyalukaram do not have the pause. The other *viṉai eccams* or infinitives and conditionals were probably nouns in origin and they follow the doubling rule[9]. The particle of comparison, *pōla* is really an infinitive and follows the doubling rule.[10] So is the verbal participle *eṉa*[11].

1.5.6.1.3.4 AFTER INTERROGATIVES

There will be a pause after the interrogatives viz., [1] /*yā*/ [whether morphological or syntactical] and [2] interrogatives expressing one's own action, after the words of command, after the words which are not merely the roots but are occurring with other particles like *–miyā*[12] and after words with particles or with intonations suggesting certainty, doubt, interrogation, negation, enumeration, etc[13].

1.5.6.1.3.5 AFTER SUBJECT

Ordinarily one would have expected a pause after the subject. But except when it is a derived noun there is not at least in the language of Tolkāppiyam, a necessary pause.

8. Ibid *sūtras* 223, 237 and 266.

9. }
10. } Ibid *sūtra* 205
11. }

12. Ibid *sūtra* 225

13. Ibid *sūtras* 274, 276, 291 and 292.

That is why the nouns in *alvaḻi* relationship get the following plosives doubled. In Tamil the determinant always precedes the determined. If we take the Tamil sentence where the subject occurs first, the subject from this point of view should be a determinant and perhaps this explains the doubling rule in Tolkāppiyam. But today the suject enjoys the independent position and there is always a pause after it even when it is not a derived noun. A study of the history of Tamil syntax may further elucidate this point. Even in the age of Tolkāppiyar the pause after the subject was slowly developing. It has been noted with reference to */ai/* and */i/* endings. *pala* was another instance[14]. */ā/* and */mā/* as subjects enjoyed a pause[15]; so did *nī* and *pī*[16].

1.5.6.1.3.6 OTHER EXCEPTIONS

The other changes mentioned in this *uyirmayaṅkiyal* also form an exception. Some relate to certain forms which are either [a] archaic or [b] telescoped forms. These will be dealt with later. Others are: [1] the demonstrative bases and [2] the names of plants and trees.

1.5.6.1.3.61 Demonstratives: Tolkāppiyar takes next the demonstrative bases */a/*, */i/* and */u/* for consideration. */atu/*, */itu/*, */utu/* are called *cuṭṭumutal iṟuti* "*-u* ending nouns which have got the demonstrative bases in the initial position"[17]. */avai/*, */ivai/*, */uvai/* are called *cuṭṭu mutal ākiya aiyeṉ iṟuti*[18] */ao°otu/*, */io°otu/*, */uo°otu/* are called *cuṭṭu mutalākiya āyta iṟuti* [19]

14. Ibid *sūtra* 225
15. Ibid *sūtra* 225
16. Ibid *sūtra* 251
17. Ibid *sūtras* 258 and 264.
18. Ibid *sūtras* 178 and 282.
19. Ibid *sūtra* 201

|av|, *|iv|*, *|uv|* are called *cuṭṭu mutal vakaram* [184] and also *cuṭṭu mutalākiya vakara iṟuti*[20]. All these are words formed from the demonstrative bases. The interrogative base is *|e|*. It is curious that it is not mentioned anywhere except in *sūtra* 335. This itself makes the *sūtra* suspect. According to Emeneau the long monosyllabic base when followed by a suffix is shortened[21]. If that were the case *|ā|*, *|ī|* and *|ū|* even like *|yā|* should be the bases. *|av|*, *|iv|* and *|uv|* are really plural forms. But Tolkāppiyar speaks of the long form as a poetic form[22]. That means in his age the shorter form should have become much more frequent. The suffix following the shorter form had become changed in *sandhi* and perhaps that is why it was not recognised. Wherever the suffix *|v|* [a transformation perhaps of the plural suffix *|m|*] is found, it was recognised as a plural word. But the short bases as already stated should be implied to have occurred with *|v|* which alone will explain the shortening. That means long before Tolkāppiyar, the *|v|* must have lost its plural significance though in literary usages *|av|*, *|iv|* and *|uv|* were used as plurals and therefore treated as such by Tolkāppiyar in *sūtra* 379. In the examples given for the long demonstrative bases under 209, for instance, *āyirutiṇai* "those two *tiṇais*" etc., are really plural. *āyirutiṇai*= *avvirutiṇai.* The forms *atu* etc., cannot be explained unless the base is taken as *|av|* because *|-v|* becomes the *āytam* when followed by the plosive without changing that plosive[23]. Therefore in all cases one may assume that whenver the shorter form appears there was the *|v|* following it. If

20. Ibid *sūtra* 379
21. M. B. Emeneau, *Comparative Dravidian* [phonology] p. 15. (Mimeograph - Annamalai University)
22. TE *sūtra* 209
23. Ibid 380

followed by a nasal the /*v*/ is assimilated to that nasal[24]; if followed by a semi-vowel or a vowel there is no change[25] except that the /*v*/ coming as it does after a short syllable, doubles, when followed by a vowel. The short bases /*a*/, /*i*/ and /*u*/ as taken by Tolkāppiyam also follow the same rules. Tolkāppiyar, however, has stated that a /*v*/ comes in, when the demonstrative base is followed by a word beginning in a semivowel[26] or a vowel[27]. These rules applicable to /*a*/ are applied to /*i*/[28] and /*u*/[29]. It is not clear why the /*v*/ should come in when the glide may be /*y*/ or /*v*/ depending either on the preceding or the following vowel. In /*i*/ + /*iṭai*/ the glide should have been /*y*/. If we posit the doubling of the consonant when the demonstrative is followed by /*y*/ this /*y*/ should be doubled. Instead of that Tolkāppiyar states that /*v*/ will come in the *sandhi*. Therefore to avoid these difficulties one may assume historically that in the Pre-Tolkāppiyam age the /*v*/ of /*av*/, /*iv*/ and /*uv*/ was assimilated to the following sound whether it is a plosive or a nasal[30] or a semi-vowel whilst it is doubled when followed by a vowel. The longer bases should be taken as the originals.

1.5.6.1.3.6.2 /*am*/ ENDING WORDS

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.1 Names of plants: Taking up the names of plants there are *sūtras* which consider many of them as

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24. Ibid *sūtra* 381
25. Ibid *sūtra* 382
26. Ibid *sūtra* 207
27. Ibid *sūtra* 208
28. Ibid *sūtra* 239
29. Ibid *sūtras* 256, 257 and 258.
30. Ibid *sūtra* 206

ending in vowels. But in compounds a nasal comes in when followed by a plosive[31]. If the *cē* means a bull to avoid the homonymic clash with *cē* "a name of a tree" it takes the /*i<u>n</u>*/ *cāriyai*[32]. There are certain names of plants which get the *cāriyai* /*am*/[33]. *Sūtra* 245 applies to the word *puḷi* and it takes /*am*/ *cāriyai*; but if it means the sour taste to avoid the clash with the form meaning tree, instead of /*am*/ only the nasal[34] comes or the following plosive doubles in certain cases[35]. All these can be explained historically under an uniform pattern as suggested below. But at the descriptive level Tolkāppiyar has to describe the different behaviour of these homonyms; so /*kō*/ "king" occurs as /*kō*/ when followed by /*il*/[36]. *Sūtra* 261 applies to the words *eru* "fertiliser" and *ceru* "war". One wonders whether all these plant names could not have been taken to be ending originally in /*am*/. Though the plant names ending in /*ā*/ are said to take the nasal[37] they in addition take an /*a*/ before the nasal. This amounts to saying that they take the /*am*/ ending. Taking some of the words ending in /*ai*/ like *pa<u>n</u>ai* "palmyra", *āvirai* etc.,[38] we find that in the compounds like *pa<u>n</u>aṅkāy* and *āviraṅkōṭu*, they do not end in /*ai*/ but really in /*am*/. In Tolkāppiyar's age *pa<u>n</u>ai* was the free form; it occurred also

31. See *sūtras* 218, 230, 244 for /*a*/, /*ā*/ and /*i*/ endings respectively; 261 and 263 for /*u*/ ending; 279 and 283 for /*ē*/ and /*ai*/ endings.
32. Ibid *sūtra* 290
33. Ibid *sūtra* 261 etc.
34. Ibid *sūtra* 246
35. Ibid *sūtra* 247
36. Ibid *sūtra* 294
37. Ibid *sūtra* 227
38. Ibid *sūṭra* 284

in old compounds in that form with the plosive doubled[39]. But in older compounds it occurred as *paṉam*[40]. But often /*ai*/ and /*am*/ are in free variation in the final position. See the words *uvamai* and *uvamam* "comparison", *talai* ~ *talam* "place". Even in modern Tamil we have *cavukkam* and *cavukkai* "square". This will suggest that probably the plant names being non-humans ended originally in /*m*/. *Sūtra* 82 in TE suggests that in many cases the non-human words ending in /*m*/ had their final /*m*/ freely varying with /*ṉ*/. It has been suggested by some that the /*m*/ was the original plural suffix. Even now in the personal plural of the I and II persons, /*m*/ is the plural whilst the /*ṉ*/ is the singular suffix. This distinction must have been lost before Tolkāppiyar's time except in the personal pronouns which resisted the change because of their frequency. Therefore all these plant names can be taken to have originally ended in /*aṉ*/ when in singular and /*am*/ in plural. While the /*ṉ*/ is confused with /*m*/ more and more frequently by the time of Tolkāppiyam, the form /*am*/ disappeared except in a few cases. That explains the greater frequency of /*am*/ as *cāriyai* even in the case of plant names above mentioned. This /*am*/ in the rapid pronunciation must have lost its initial /*a*/. That explains the forms only with the nasal. If originally these ended in /*-m*/ then one can understand the disappearance of /*m*/ according to *sūtra* 311, and the doubling of the following plosive which is explained in *sūtra* 231 etc[41]. But when it is followed by a vowel there is no change. See *valla+nāy*>

39. Ibid *sūtra* 286. See *paṉai-k-koṭi* "the flag in which the palmyra tree is drawn"
40. Ibid *sūtra* 284. See *paṉa-ṅ-kāy* "the unripened fruit of palmyra"
41. See also TE *sūtra* 261, 385 and 386

vallanāy[42]. If /*m*/ is lost, and if when a word beginning with /*a*/ follows according to a rule which is implicit in Tolkāppiyam, viz. $\breve{V}^1+\breve{V}^2>\bar{V}^2\ \breve{V}^2\sim\bar{V}^2$, that the final *-a+a>āa*. e.g. *paṉam+aṭṭu>paṉaφ+aṭṭu>panāaṭṭu*[43]; *maram+aṭi>mara+aṭai>marāaṭi*[44]; *mā+am+kōṭu > māam + kōṭu> māaṅkōṭu*[45]. /*am*/ appears as a plural suffix and it may be seen in the old forms - *palāam* and *cilāam*. These two forms are preserved even according to Tolkāppiyar only in poetry[46]. The words *pal* and *cil* appears as *palāam-pala* and *cilāam- cila* also. When they occur as *pala* or *palāam* etc., they are recognised as plural finite words. *Sūtra* 215 states about the repetition of the word *pala* when there will be a compound and therefore a cohesion. In the latter case /*l*/ becomes /*ṟ*/ when followed by a plosive and that becomes the rule wherever this form *pal* occurs. This has an influence even when the form is *pala*. On the analogy of *pal*, *pala* also may become a compound *paṟpala*[47] being taken as an alternant of *pal*. If there is cohesion, the following plosive doubles: *pala-p-pala*[48]. This is not the uniform rule. There is the older form *pala pala* in addition to *palappala* and *paṟpala*[49].

Similarly one may expect certain plant names which in the age of Tolkāppiyam ended in consonants, might have ended in /*am*/ in a previous age. The *sūtras* which deal with

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42. TE *sūtra* 375; "the name of the coin used in the game *val*"
43. Ibid *sūtra* 285
44. Ibid *sūtra* 312
45. Ibid *sūtra* 232
46. Ibid *sūtra* 214
47. Ibid *sūtra* 215
48. Ibid *sūtra* 216
49. Ibid *sūtra* 216

the plant names ending in consonants are as follows; 314 deals with the word *illam* 'a tree'; *sūtra* 337 deals with the plant name *ekiṉ* which has got the alternant form *ekiṉam* in the compound *ekiṉaṅkōṭu*. This according to 338 loses the /m/ and gets its following plosive doubled. *Sūtra* 364 deals with certain plant names; of these *pīr* gets /am/; this /a/ of the /am/ is lost in the words *ār*, *vetir* and *cār*[50]. The word *cār* which according to the explanation given above should have been originally *cāram* loses the /m/ and gets the following plosive doubled[51]. *Sūtra* 379 deals with the names of trees viz., *pūl*, *vēl* and *āl*. Their original forms must have ended in /am/. 387 deals with the plant name *kumiḻ* and the original form must have been *kumiḻam*.

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.2 Other cases with /am/ ending: There are other cases also where the words must have ended in /am/. For instance, according to *sūtra* 357, *poṉ* "gold" has the poetic form *polam*. This must be the more ancient form. It must have lost its /am/; after that the /l/ as in many cases, varied with /ṉ/ giving us the form *poṉ*. The words *arā*, "snake", *uvā* "full or new moon" etc., take an /a/ after them and get the following plosives doubled[52]. May it not be possible to argue that the old forms were *arāam* etc. Even now we have the form *aravam* "snake". This does not apply to all such forms; for *irā* "night" does not behave like that. It remains always as *irā*[53]. But this *irā* is a noun; for, the negative relative participle will have the form *irāa*.

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50. Ibid *sūtra* 364
51. Ibid *sūtra* 365
52. Ibid *sūtra* 224.
53. Ibid *sūtra* 228

Probably *mī* "*up*" is the alternant of modern *mēl~mēṉ~mēm*[54]. Therefore this might have originally ended in a nasal. The final nasal has a tendency to be lost. If *mīm* is taken as the pre-Tolkāppiyam form, the forms *mīntōl* and *mīkkaṇ* may be explained[55]. Perhaps *pū* "flower" the frequent form in Tolkāppiyar's age was also originally *pūm*; that is why we have *pūṅkoṭi* or *pūkkoṭi*, which can be explained only as the original /-m/ ending words. Perhaps words ending in /ū/ also ended in /-m/; But one has to assume here a different morphophonemic rule i.e. $\bar{V}^1+\check{V}^2>\bar{V}^1+\check{V}^1$. This will explain the forms *uṭū + am + kuṟai > uṭūukkuṟai*; *tū + am + kuṟai > tūukkuṟai*; *paḻū + am + pal > paḻūuppal*. These have become well knit compounds so much so that we have only the doubling of the plosives[56]. /ū/ behaves like the /ā/ ending in taking the *cāriyai* /-ṉ/. But /āṉ/ was found to take in addition an /-a/[57] which suggests that the old form was *āṉam*. Thus /ū/ "flesh" has the following alternant forms *ū~ūṉ~ūṉa-*[58]. This may suggest that *ūṉam* was the older form which lost its /-m/, and got the following plosive doubled. Of course as is usual with Tolkāppiyar he speaks of /akku/ *cāriyai* which is really /-a-/.

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.21 The word /ē/: /ē/ means 'arrow'. It is connected with the verbal root /ey/ "to shoot [an arrow]". Probably this also is /ē/, ending in/-m/ i.e./ēam/becoming/ēem/.

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54. See the usage *mēmpaṭṭa*.
55. TE *sūtra* 252; "the upper skin" and "the upper place" respectively.
56. Ibid *sūtras* 268 and 262.
57. Ibid *sūtra* 233
58. Ibid *sūtras* 270 and 271.

If the final /-m/ is lost the form will be /ēe/ and this gets the following plosive doubled[59].

The words *īm* "burning ground", *urum* "thunder" and *kam* 'water' according to 330, probably also ended in /am/. Later on each loses its final /m/ and gets the following plosive doubled[60]. But these after losing /am/, ended in /m/ and they like other words which took an euphonic /u/ ended with /u/ in phrases[61]. The word *kaṉ* must have also ended in an /am/ as may be inferred from *sūtra* 347. Probably *porun* also had the older form *porunam* which is responsible for *poruna-k-kaṭumai*[62]. *āṉ* "cow" also had the form *āṉam* in *āṉa ney* "cow's ghee". This /a/ is considered to be in genitive relationship and one wonders whether after all, in all places where we get /a/, the genitive case sign, this might not have been the original /am/. But this is a suggestion which has to be completely worked out with reference to all the Dravidian materials. The word *verin* "back" had probably the original form *verinam* which lost the penultimate /n/ and becomes *veriṅkuṟai*[63]. It could have been taken as /veri/ explaining the nasal or the plosive coming in such compounds as *veriṅkuṟai* and *verikkuṟai*. But the fact that Tolkāppiyam does not consider so shows that the much more frequent form is *verin* even in his age. When *porunam* lost the /am/ it behaved

59. Ibid *sūtra* 278. See *ēe-k-koṭṭil* "school for archery"
60. See *īmam* "burning-ground" + *kuṭam* "pot" > *īmaφ+k+kuṭam>īma-k-kuṭam* "the pot used in the burning-ground".
61. See *urum+kaṭitu>urumu-k-kaṭitu* "the thunder is harmful"
62. TE *sūtras* 299 and 300.
63. Ibid *sūtras* 301 and 302.

like the other verbal nouns ending in nasals by taking the euphonic /*u*/.

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.22 *Kuṟṟiyalukaram* **words with** /*am*/ **ending**: Even words ending in a kuṟṟiyalukaram must have ended in /*am*/ originally[64]. There are also other words which must have ended in /*am*/ but whose more frequent forms occur without the /*am*/[65]. As already stated the final /*-m*/ is lost and the following plosive is doubled[66].

The /*aṉ*/ *cāriyai* referred to above comes after certain numerals and after the word *peṇṭu* "woman". But later /*iṉ*/ is the usual *cāriyai.* But Tolkāppiyar because of the much more frequent alternant forms occurring in his age takes the basic forms, coming without an /*am*/ and thus ending in a vowel or a nasal or in a semivowel or kuṟṟiyalukaram and then lays down the rule that in many cases the *cāriyai* /*am*/ comes in and that the following plosive doubles.

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.23 Words which take /*attu*/ *cāriyai*: There are also other words which might have ended in /*-m*/. It is stated that words ending in /*-m*/ take the *cāriyai* /*attu*/.[67] This may suggest that words which take an /*attu*/ *cāriyai* even if they do not end in /*-m*/ in the age of Tolkāppiyam might have ended in /*am*/ in the pre-Tolkāppiyam era. *maka* has the oblique form *makattu*[68]. But this is a more ancient form becoming less frequent in the age of Tolkāppiyar where *maka*

64. Ibid *sūtra* 416. See *kuruntam* "name of a tree"
65. TE *sūtra* 418. See *ēṟaṅkōḷ*, *vaṭṭampōr* etc.
66. Ibid *sūtra* 419. *kuṉṟam* + *kūkai* > *kuṉṟa*ϕ + *kūkai* > *kuṉṟa-k-kūkai* "a hill tree or a rock horned owl"
67. Ibid *sūtṛa* 186
68. Ibid *sūtra* 220

took the /i<u>n</u>/ *cāriyai* ordinarily[69]. *nilā* "moon" has the oblique form *nilāattu*[70]; *pa<u>n</u>i* "cold" has the oblique form *pa<u>n</u>iyattu*[71]; *vaḷi* "wind" has the oblique form *vaḷiyattu*[72]; *ma<u>ḻ</u>ai* "rain" has the oblique form *ma<u>ḻ</u>aiyattu*[73]; *viṇ* "sky" has the oblique form *viṇṇattu*[74]; *veyil* has the oblique form *veyilattu*[75]. *iruḷ* "darkness" has the oblique form *iruḷattu*[76]; /*attu*/ was the old oblique case sign. It is possible to argue that this /*attu*/ was added only to the words which have the original ending of /*am*/.

The plosive in the final syllable doubles in the oblique forms. For instance *yāṭu>yāṭṭu*. This may be explained as *yāṭu+tu>yāṭṭu*. /*-tu*/ is a formative which occurs in words like *maruntu* etc. If *maram* occurs with the suffix /*-tu*/ it will be *maram+tu* thanks to a tendency of the nasal being lost before a plosive as for instance, *ilaṅku>ilaku* "to shine" *vilaṅku>vilaku* "to let pass" etc. *maram+tu> marantu > maratu*. But such forms are not found in Tamil. They have only to be inferred from forms like *marattu*. These doubled plosive forms are the original oblique forms. These oblique forms stand in the relation of an attribute to the following noun which will be the head word. As Caldwell states these oblique cases might have had the force of a genitive or a locative.[77] *marattu-k-kiḷai* may mean 'the branch of the tree' or 'the branch in the tree'. By the time of Tolkāppiyam /*attu*/ has to be recognised as an old

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69. Ibid *sūtra* 219
70. Ibid *sūtra* 229
71. Ibid *sūtra* 242
72. Ibid *sūtra* 243
73. Ibid *sūtra* 288
74. Ibid *sūtra* 306
75. Ibid *sūtra* 378
76. Ibid *sūtra* 403
77. A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages, p. 265.

case sign more often than not with the force of a genitive. But in a few instances the much more ancient locative significance had been retained in certain nouns which were followed by a verb. Tolkāppiyar could not look upon them as locative in force because that will be against the force of the more frequent usage of such words in his age. He therefore calls them *cāriyais*.

The word *tēn* "honey" originally had the form *tēm* which explains why it takes the /*attu*/ *cāriyai* in *tēttiṟāl* "honey-comb". But Tolkāppiyar explains this in terms of *tē<u>n</u>* [losing its -<u>n</u>] occurring with /-*tt*-/. The forms *tēṅkuṭam* "honey-pot" and *tēñeri* "a broken piece of honey-comb" can be explained easily if the original form was taken as *tēm*. But Tolkāppiyar explains it as an instance of the coming in of a nasal when the final /-<u>n</u>/ is lost.[78] If it ends in /*am*/ one can also explain in certain cases the loss of the /*m*/ and the doubling of the plosive as in *tē-k-kuṭam*. But because in the age of Tolkāppiyam *tē<u>n</u>* was more frequently used, as a descriptive grammarian, he takes *tē<u>n</u>* as the basic form. He therefore explains that in some cases it loses the /-<u>n</u>/ and gets the plosive or the nasal comes in.

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.24 Words which take /*ikku*/ *cāriyai*: There is also the instance of /*ikku*/ which occurs after words ending in /-*i*/or/-*ai*/. This /*ikku*/ comes only after the names of months and stars which ended even in the age of Tolkāppiyam only in /-*i*/ or /-*ai*/ as they do in modern times. In this /*ikku*/ *cāriyai* /*i*/- disappears.[79] What remains is /-*kku*/. Of this the first /-*k*-/ is merely the doubling of the second /-*k*-/ before the

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78. TE *sūtras* 342 and 343
79. Ibid *sūtra* 127 and 128

/-*i*/ or /-*ai*/ endings. This leaves only /-*ku*/ which one can identify with the dative case sign /-*ku*/. But in the age of Tolkāppiyam /-*ku*/ never occurred with the locative significance except with reference to the months. Because in the most of the cases /-*ku*/ occurred otherwise, he had to take this /*ku*/ not as a case sign but as a *cāriyai*. It is clear however that in the examples given viz., *āṭikku-k-koṇṭāṉ*[80] etc. the /-*ku*/ has a locative significance. The sentence means 'he captured in the month of *āṭi*'. Even in modern times this /*ku*/ occurs with locative significance when coming after words denoting time. See *nāḷaikku* "tomorrow" *iṉṟaikku* "today", *varukiṟa varuṣattiṟku* "in the coming year"

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.25 Words which take /*āṉ*/ *cāriyai*: There is another *cāriyai* /*āṉ*/ referred to as occurring after names of stars or lunar asterism ending in /-*i*/ and /-*ai*/[81] and also in /*m*/[82]. The /*m*/ ending words take the *cāriyai* /*āṉ*/ after taking the *cāriyai* /*attu*/. It is curious that in the age of Tolkāppiyar the names of stars referring to days also ended in /-*i*/, /-*ai*/ or /-*m*/. Here also /*āṉ*/ has the significance of a locative. /-*āṉ*/ occurs as an independent word with the meaning 'that place'. Therefore one can easily understand even according to modern usages that any place name may give the meaning of a locative. But unfortunately even in the age of Tolkāppiyam /*āṉ*/ was beginning to occur with the meaning of a III case sign in all cases except in a few instances like these. Even in Tolkāppiyam /*āṉ*/ occurs in many *sūtras*[83] where the commentators point out that it is a

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80. See under TE *sūtras* 249 and 287.
81. TE *sūtras* 247 and 287
82. Ibid *sūtra* 332
83. See *sūtras* 37, 40, 57 etc.

cāriyai occurring with the meaning of a locative. Therefore Tolkāppiyar considers this /*ā<u>n</u>*/ as a *cāriyai* in these places. Even in modern times *va<u>l</u>iyā<u>n</u>e pō* means *vaḷiyil pō* 'go along the way'.

1.5.6.1.3.6.2.3 ARCHAIC AND TELESCOPED WORDS

There are the words which have become telescoped or lost remain to be discussed. [1] *cāva* > *cā*[84] [losing the final syllable] [2] *vā<u>l</u>iya* > *vā<u>l</u>i*[58]. Tolkāppiyam however adds that this loss of the final syllable will occur only when one wants to bless the other to live for a very long, long, time. [3] the other words are: *amma* > *ammā*[86] [4] *āppi* > *āppi*[87] [5] [C] V̌CV > [C] V̌CV̌vu[88] e.g. *i<u>r</u>a* > *i<u>r</u>avu*.

[6] In poetry *i<u>nr</u>i* occurs as *i<u>nr</u>u*[89]. Probably this is the older form. *i<u>nr</u>u* will be the finite verb form. If so this form will support the theory that originally the conjunctive participles were the finite verbs. Later on the analogy of the other conjunctive participles taking /*i*/ when the original root ends in ku<u>rr</u>iyalukaram, *i<u>nr</u>u* became *i<u>nr</u>i*. It is significant that Tolkāppiyam does not mention *a<u>nr</u>i* > *a<u>nr</u>u*. Tolkāppiyar uses the word *a<u>nr</u>i*[90] where in modern Tamil one would use *anta* or *avai*. But he mentions *a<u>nr</u>u* in the sense of *a<u>nr</u>i* occurring in his time when preceded by /*atu*/, /*itu*/ etc[91].

84. TE *sūtra* 210
85. Ibid *sūtra* 212; cf. vā<u>l</u>iyar > vā<u>l</u>iya > vā<u>l</u>i.
86. Ibid *sūtra* 213
87. Ibid *sūtra* 234
88. Ibid *sūtra* 235
89. Ibid *sūtra* 238
90. TC *vē<u>rr</u>umai-y-iyal sūtra* 5
91. TE *sūtra* 259; *atu+a<u>nr</u>u* > *atāa<u>nr</u>u*.

[7] *Vēṭkai+avā=vēṇavā* "desire"[92]. But this *sūtra* is something different from the way in which Tolkāppiyar mentions his rules; this is like the *sūtras* explaining the numerals *toṇṇūṟu* etc., which are suspected by others as being interpolations.

[8] *tūṇi+patakku>tūṇi-p-patakku*[93] "a measurement". Here the plosive of the second word doubles.

[9] *nāḻi+uri>nāṭuri*[94] "a measurement". Some will hold that *nāḻi* is the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit *nāḍi* and according to them the /-i/ of *nāḍi* is lost in the compound *nāṭuri*.

[10] The forms *āṭūu* "male" and *makaṭūu* "female" will get the *cāriyai* /iṉ/ optionally when followed by words beginning with a plosive[95].

WORDS FOLLOWING THE RULES OF URUPIYAL

There are some more words to be mentioned here which follow the rules stated in *urupiyal*. [1] The word *pala* "many" gets the *cāriyai* /vaṟṟu/[96]. [2] The II person singular *nī>niṉ*[97]. [3] The demonstrative *atu* etc., get the *cāriyai* /aṉ/[98]. Similarly *avai* etc., get the *cāriyai* /vaṟṟu/[99]. [4] The word *kō* "king" gets the *cāriyai* /oṉ/[100]. Even though these are repetitions Tolkāppiyar's arrangement is useful for the students as giving a complete picture of the behaviour of each ending.

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92. Ibid *sūtra* 289
93. Ibid *sūtra* 240
94. Ibid *sūtra* 241
95. Ibid *sūtra* 272
96. Ibid *sūtra* 221
97. Ibid *sūtra* 254
98. Ibid *sūtra* 256
99. Ibid *sūtra* 282
100 Ibid *sūtra* 295

1.5.6.2 COMPARISON OF *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* WITH *uyir-mayaṅkiyal.*

1.5.6.2.1 General principle about *sandhi:* One may now compare the *sūtras* about *sandhi* in Naṉṉūl with Tolkāppiyam. Naṉṉūl 96 refers to the general principles of *sandhi.* This has been already compared and discussed under Tolkāppiyam *puṇariyal.*

1.5.6.2.2 *Vērrumai* and *alvaḻi*: *Sūtra* 97 which corresponds to Tolkāppiyam 113 explains the terms *vēṟṟumai* and *alvaḻi.* Naṉṉūl specifies those which come under *alvaḻi.* This has also been discussed briefly elsewhere.

1.5.6.2.3 *iyalpu: Sūtra* 98 in Naṉṉūl explains the term *iyalpu* as "the *sandhi* which does not take the three *vikāras.*" Tolkāppiyam mentions this term in *sūtra* 109 without explaining it.

1.5.6.2.41 *Vikāras*

1.5.6.2.41 Three *sandhi vikāras*: *Sūtra* 99 in Naṉṉūl refers to the three *vikāras* viz., *tōṉṟal, tirital* and *keṭutal* corresponding to Tolkāppiyam *mikutal, meypiṟitātal* and *kuṉṟal* respectively. Naṉṉūl uses the Sanskrit term *vikāra(m)* whereas Tolkāppiyam uses the term *tiripu.* Naṉṉūl adds also the places where these *vikāras* will occur. It states that these *vikāras* may occur initially, medially or finally in both the standing and the coming words in a *sandhi.*

1.5.6.2.42 Six *ceyyuḷ vikāras*: Naṉṉūl 100 refers to the six *vikāras* which occur in poetry because of metrical exigencies. They are [1] the changing of the nasal into a

plosive [2] the changing of the plosive into a nasal [3] lengthening of the vowel [4] shortening of the vowel [5] expansion and [6] contraction. Tolkāppiyar relegates these to Collatikāram[1],

1.5.6.2.43 Occurrence of *vikāras*. *Sūtra* 101 in Naṉṉūl also refers to the three *vikāras* which may occur initially, medially or finally because of metrical exigencies or poetic "deviations".

Sūtra 102 states the possibility of occurrence of one or more *vikāras* [i.e. any one of *tōṉṟal*, *tirital*, and *keṭutal* or more]. Pavaṇanti must have had in his mind the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar on Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 110 for mentioning this rule.

1.5.6.2.5 Reason for omitting the environment: *Sūtras* 145 and 146 of Tolkāppiyam which speak of the words ending in nasals etc., following the no-change rule are summarised in Naṉṉūl 103. But Naṉṉūl omits *uyirmutalākiya moḻi* "the words with initial vowels" because the glides have become the permanent feature of the language of his age.

1.5.6.2.6 Automatic alternation of /t/ and /n/. The automatic alternation of /t/ and /n/ after /l/ and /ṉ/ and /ḷ/ and /ṇ/ is not mentioned in Naṉṉūl in the general part in *uririṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* but in the rules relating to specific endings. Therefore the exception relating to the /n/ has to be specified in Naṉṉūl; this itself shows that Naṉṉūl's treatment leads to redundancy. Again Tolkāppiyar refers to the relationship between two words undergoing *sandhi* whilst Naṉṉūl speaks of any kind of *padas* coming together. This shows

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1. *Sūtra* 7 in *ecca-v-iyal*.

that Tolkāppiyar is emphasising syntax in these cases though in the ultimate result there is no difference.

1.5.6.2.7 Doubling of the coming nasal : Tolkāppiyar permits in some cases the doubling of the coming nasal after words of more than two letters[2]. But by the time of Iḷampūraṇar, open monosyllables ending in /ai/, short monosyllables ending in /y/ and the monosyllabic word /tu/ "to eat" made the following nasal double. The same is the case with the word /no/ "to suffer" and therefore this optional rule with reference to these is mentioned in Naṉṉūl 103.

1.5.6.2.8 potu-p-peyar: *Sūtra* 104 in Naṉṉūl corresponds to 154, 155, 156 and 359 in Tolkāppiyam. With reference to words which are both common to *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* called *potu-p-peyar* in Naṉṉūl as against *aḵṟiṇai viravu-p-peyar* in Tolkāppiyam, a change from the older rule seems to have occurred. It was only in a few cases that the no-change rule applied in the age of Tolkāppiyam. But the no-change rule seems to have become universal by the time of Naṉṉūl. The no-change rule with reference to the plosive coming after *uyartiṇai* words ending in wowels, /y/ or /r/, is specifically mentioned in Naṉṉūl. But Naṉṉūl however adds that the *uyartiṇai* words undergo a few changes in some places. Tolkāppiyar has referred only to the exception of the /i/ ending. But the general statement in Naṉṉūl is based on Iḷampūraṇam and Nēminātam which are in turn based on some usages of their times. The usages *uṇpa cāṉṟōr* "the scholars will eat", *kumara kōṭṭam* ~ *kumara-k-kōṭṭam*, "the temple of Muruga" *kapila paraṇar*, "Kapilar and Paraṇar" *kōlika-k-karuvi* "loom" *uṇṭaṉeñ cāṉṟēm* "We, the scholars

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2. TE *sūtra* 146

ate" etc., mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar will be covered by Naṉṉūl 219. Tolkāppiyam 155 is made applicable to /ai/ endings by Iḷampūraṇar but this will be covered by the general statement *cila vikāramām uyartiṇai* "some will change in *uyartiṇai*" in Naṉṉūl.

1.5.6.2.9 Exceptions for the rule for /ā/ ending: *Sūtra* 225 in Tolkāppiyam mentions certain exceptions for the rule applicable to words ending in /ā/. But *sūtra* 105 in Naṉṉūl occurs in the portion dealing with general rules. It generalises for all interrogative particles and nouns in the vocative case. Thus Naṉṉūl achieves some economy.

1.5.6.2.10 Second person verbs and imperative verbs: *Sūtra* 106 in Naṉṉūl states about the II person verbs and imperatives. This corresponds to 152, 153, 266 etc., in Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyar includes the imperative under *muṉṉilai* or the II person verb. But Naṉṉūl differentiates between II person verbs and imperative verbs. Tolkāppiyar's rules refer to all consonantal endings. But Naṉṉūl refers only to the endings /-y/ /-r/ and /-ḻ/. That is because the other consonantal endings undergo changes which even Tolkāppiyar recognises in *sūtra* 153 and under the rules about the other consonantal endings. The optional rule mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar[3] was no longer in force and therefore Naṉṉūl 152 will govern such cases.

1.5.6.2.11 Glide: *Sūtra* 107 in Naṉṉūl corresponds to 141 in Tolkāppiyam. This is the rule about the glide. Tolkāppiyar does not specify the glides but generally states that the glides are not prohibited. By the time of Naṉṉūl

3. See under TE *sūtra* 153

the /y/ glide comes after /i/, /ī/, /ai/ and /v/ glide after other vowels whilst both /y/ and /v/ occur after /ē/ as already stated in Vīracōḻiyam.

1.5.6.2.12 *Sandhi* **after demonstrative and interrogative bases:** *Sūtra* 108 deals with the *sandhi* after the demonstrative and interrogative bases i.e. /a-/, /i-/, /u-/, /e-/ [*V-/y->* /*av*/*iv*/*uv*/*ev*/; if other sounds come in the second unit, they double. This corresponds to Tolkāppiyam 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 237, 239, 256 and 257. Tolkāppiyar speaks of the lengthening of the demonstrative base. But he does not mention specifically the glide /y/ which Naṉṉūl does following Iḷampūraṇar. Iḷampūraṇar's statement about this, as occurring except when followed by plosive is too minute for a rare usage to be mentioned in Naṉṉūl. There are restrictions to be mentioned by commentators. Iḷampūraṇar, under Tolkāppiyam 239, instead of taking *āvayiṉ* as *ā + vayiṉ* explains it as *av + vayiṉ* where /*ā*/ according to him is lengthened and the /*v*/ is lost. This explanation must be applicable to *ā-y-iṭai*. Naṉṉūl does not go into these details.

Though Tolkāppiyar in one place refers to *ekara mutal viṉā* in 160, he does not recognise /*e*/ as an interrogative base, probably, because he considers it as an alternant of *yā*. But in the time of Naṉṉūl, the occurrence of /*e*/ as an interrogative has become universal and therefore it mentions that.

1.5.6.2.13 Disappearance of the final shortened /*u*/: *Sūtra* 109 in Naṉṉūl refers to (1) the disappearance of kuṟṟiyalukaram when followed by a vowel and (2) its changing into shorter /*i*/ when followed by /*y*/. The second rule corresponds to 411 in Tolkāppiyam. The first rule is not definitely stated in Tolkāppiyam. But commentators like

Iḷampūraṉar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar will interpret Tolkāppiyam 166 so as to yield this rule. Naṉṉūl adds that even the muṟṟiyalukaram will disappear in some places when followed by a vowel.

1.5.6.2.14 Grand general rule. *Sūtra* 110 in Naṉṉūl is the grand rule of generalisation about the doubling of the plosives after the word ending in any vowel, thus summarising Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 204, 205, 217, 222, 223, 226, 236, 237, 240, 250, 253, 255, 260, 265, 266, 267, 275, 277, 281, 290, 293, 296.

1.5.6.2.14.1 Words of plants or trees ending in */a/*. Tolkāppiyar mentions that words of plants ending in /a/ will get the homorganic nasals after them when followed by plosives. But Naṉṉūl 111 generalises this for all vowel endings, because of Tolkāppiyam 230 for /ā/ ending, 244 for /i/ ending and 263 for /u/ ending etc. In view of this general statement there is no necessity for treating seperately the forms *māṅkōṭu* [there was no question of /-a-/ coming in Naṉṉūl in whose time there was no vowel cluster.] *āṇāṅkōṭu*, *nuṇāṅkōṭu*, *kāyāṅkōṭu*. In some places Tolkāppiyar posits an /am/ *cāriyai*. But Naṉṉūl does not refer to *cāriyai* generally except in *urupu puṇariyal*. Pavaṇanti had made over the rules there applicable to *poruṭ puṇarcci* i.e. cases of *sandhi* when the case signs were absent but when the rules relating to *urupu puṇariyal* are applied.

1.5.6.2.14.2 Exceptions to the general rule: From 112 onwards Naṉṉūl mentions the exceptions to the general rule about the doubling of the plosive under each vowel ending.

1.5.6.2.14.21 Exception to /a/ ending.

1.5.6.2.14.211 Predicates, relative participle etc. *Sūtra* 112 in Naṉṉūl states that after (1) the verbal participle *ceyyiya*, (2) various kinds of relative participles, (3) finite verb, (4) sixth case sign (5) neuter plural and (6) *amma* the plosives will not double. This corresponds to 210 in Tolkāppiyam. A comparison between these two *sūtras* can be made here. All kinds of predicates are brought under the term *muṟṟu* in Naṉṉūl. In this way Naṉṉūl solves the difficulty about finite verbs ending in /a/ being mentioned specifically in Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyam again mentions only *ceyta* [relative participle]. But as Iḷampūraṇar points out the negative *ceyyāta* and the relative participle derived from the noun bases like *nalla* should also be included under that term.[4] Probably Naṉṉūl looks upon *aṉṉa*, a particle of simile, as a *peyar eccam*. For all these reasons instead of referring to *ceyta* alone he speaks of *palvakai-p-peyariṉ eccam* "several kinds of relative participles." *ammā* is similar to vocative case. Though mentioned separately in Tolkāppiyam, it has been brought under the general rule 105 in Naṉṉūl. Tolkāppiyam does not deal with the case signs under the various vowel endings. But Naṉṉūl does and therefore mentions the genitive case sign /a/ in the *sūtra*.

1.5.6.2.14.212 About *vāḻiya*: *Sūtra* 113 in Naṉṉūl states that *vāḻiya* > *vāḻi* and after this the plosive will not double. This corresponds to 212 in Tolkāppiyam. Usually Tolkāppiyar explains the meaning of homonymous words. But Naṉṉūl except in rare cases omits such explanations. Tolkāppiyar considers *vāḻiya* as the alternant of *vāḻi* and

4. Ibid 210

therefore does not state once again the rule of no-change with reference to it. But in all these cases Nannūl takes the two forms separately and therefore repeats the rule of no-change with reference to *vāḷi* also. Tolkāppiyar usually lays down the rules for cases where the plosive follows a word. Hence Iḷampūraṇar whenever necessary extends them, as he does here, to other environments. Nannūl usually marks all the environments to be applicaple to all instances, as it is done here.

1.5.6.2.14.213 About *cāva*: *Sūtra* 114 in Nannūl which states that *cāva*>*cā* "to die" corresponds to *sūtra* 210 in Tolkāppiyam. Nannūl *sūtra* does not mention that *cāva* here must be *ceyaveṉ eccam*, "a variety of verbal participle". As there is no restriction about the following sound the exceptional form shown by Iḷampūraṇar *cāñāṉṟār* will be covered by this rule. Nannūl *sūtra* is shorter and more poetical, in that it speaks of *keṭutal* "disappearing" as *cātal* "dying".

1.5.6.2.14.214 About *pala* **and** *cila*: *Sūtra* 115 deals with the words *pala* and *cila*. It corresponds to 214 and 215 in Tolkāppiyam. In Tolkāppiyar's time there were the forms *palāam* and *cilāam* which have gone out of usage by the time of Nannūl. Tolkāppiyam also does not mention specifically the word *cila* as Nannūl does, nor does Tolkāppiyam specifically mention the loss of the /*ā*/ ending as Nannūl does. The *sandhi* where this *pala* is followed by other words is not specified in Tolkāppiyam as in the latter. Nannūl specifies all these following Iḷampūraṇar[5].

5 Ibid 214 and 215

1.5.6.2.14.22 TE *Sūtras* omitted by *Naṉṉūl* with reference to /a/ ending.

1.5.6.2.14.221. About *viṉai-y-eccam* **etc.**: Naṉṉūl has no *sūtra* corresponding to Tolkāppiyam 205 which speaks about the rule applicable to verbal participles etc. though this will come under the general *sūtra* 110 in Naṉṉūl. But as already stated Tolkāppiyar is using the word *alvaḻi* as specifically mentioning the subject-predicate construction. But in the later age as proved by Iḷampūraṇar and others this has been interpreted to include all constructions other than those of declensional compounds. If Tolkāppiyar was of the same view as the commentators [Iḷampūraṇar] he would not have mentioned *sūtra* 205 after *sūtra* 204.

1.5.6.2.14.23 About *ammā* **and** *palāam*: The rules relating to *ammā* and *palāam* were of no use in the age of Naṉṉūl because those words were no longer current. Hence *sūtras* 213 and 214 do not find a place in Naṉṉūl. Tolkāppiyam 219, 220 and 221 deal with *cāriyai* and Naṉṉūl does not deal with these in *uyiriṟṟu-p-puṇariyal*; even otherwise Tolkāppiyam 220 and 221 deal only with archaic forms.

1.5.6.2.14.3 Exceptions to /ā/ ending: *Sūtras* 116 and 117 in Naṉṉūl give the exceptions to the doubling rule for the /ā/ endings. *Sūtra* 116 corresponds to 225 in Tolkāppiyam. Some of these Naṉṉūl had already mentioned under the general rule 160. The *aḵṟiṇai* plural is mentioned under the generic term *muṟṟu* "finite verb" so as to bring out the reason i.e. pause, much more clearly. As usual he does not give the grammatical meaning of the particle *-miyā*.

Tolkāppiyam 235 is reworded and simplified as Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 117. Tolkāppiyar speaks of the shortening of the long

vowel as *iṟuti-c-ciṉai keṭal* perhaps thinking of the long vowels as consisting of two units though forming one. Naṉṉūl is much more specific in saying that long vowel is becoming short following Iḷampūraṇar[6]. Naṉṉūl however speaks of this change as *iyalpu* in the sense that it is natural in poetry. Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 223 about *ceyyā* will come under the general rule in Naṉṉūl 110.

1.5.6.2.14.31 TE *sūtras* omitted by *Naṉṉūl* with reference to /ā/ ending : The coming in of /a/ between two words was no longer the rule in the age of Naṉṉūl and therefore there is no corresponding *sūtra* to Tolkāppiyam 224, 227 and 233. Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 229 and 233 deal with *cāriyai*. There are no corresponding *sūtras* in Naṉṉūl.

1.5.6.2.14.4 Exceptions to /i/ ending : The exceptions to the rule laying down the doubling of the plosive for the words ending in /i/ are given in 118 to 121 in Naṉṉūl.

1.5.6.2.14.41 About *aṉṟi* : *Sūtra* 118 in Naṉṉūl which states about *aṉṟi* and *iṉṟi* corresponds to 238 in Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyam does not mention *aṉṟi*. But Naṉṉūl does following Iḷampūraṇar[7]. Tolkāppiyar states 238 as a positive rule but he is silent about the *sandhi* rule of no-change. Iḷampūraṇar however makes it specific. Naṉṉūl follows Iḷampūraṇar. Naṉṉūl lays down the no-change rule but assumes that the change of /u/ into /i/ had already been mentioned. This way of mentioning the rule through an assumption is labelled as *uṭampoṭu puṇarttal* or *nipādam*.

1.5.6.2.14.42 About *uri*: Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 119 which deals with *nāḻi+uri>nāṭuri* "a measurment corresponds to

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6. Ibid 235 7. Ibid 238

241 in Tolkāppiyam. But it however adds the rule for the form *uri*, probably because in Naṉṉūl's age this form was frequent. e.g. *uri* [*uppu* "salt" > *uriya* [-*v*–*uppu*.

Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 246 and 247 about the word *puḷi* "tamarind" are elegantly summarised in one line in Naṉṉūl 120. So does 121 in Naṉṉūl (which deals with /*i*/ and /*ai*/ endings) the corresponding *sūtra* 159 in Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyam 237 is covered by the general rule 110 in Naṉṉūl. So is Tolkāppiyam 240 about *tūṇi*+*patakku* > *tūṇi*-*p*-*patakku* "a measurement".

1.5.6.2.14.43 TE *sūtras* omitted by *Naṉṉūl* with reference to /*i*/ ending: *Sūtras* 242, 243, 245, 248, 249 in Tolkāppiyam lay down *cāriyais* and therefore they do not find a place in Naṉṉūl. Even otherwise except *sūtra* 245 others deal with forms which were not in use even before Naṉṉūl.

1.5.6.2.14.5 Exceptions to /*i*/ ending : *Sūtra* 234 in Tolkāppiyam like 235 therein deals with forms of words without reference to any word following them in *sandhi*. But Naṉṉūl 122 places this rule within the framework of *sandhi*. Since in 251 Tolkāppiyar lays down the no-change rule, he does not mention it according to his scheme of things in 234. But as already stated Naṉṉūl in all these cases specifies the *sandhi* rule of no-change. In spite of the fact that what is contained in 251 is in its *sūtra* 158, Naṉṉūl summarises both 251 and 252.

1.5.6.2.14.51 about *mī* : The nasal coming after *mī* is mentioned in Naṉṉūl 123 because that has become an established usage even by the time of Iḷampūraṇar. Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 254 relating to *nī* is dealt with in Naṉṉūl under *sūtras* 123 and 192.

1.5.6.2.14.6 Exceptions to /u/ ending: *Sūtras* 124 to 144 in Nannūl deal with the exceptions relating to words ending in /u/. As already stated Nannūl deals with the subject matter of *kurriyalukara-p-puṇariyal* in the *uyirīrru-p-puṇariyal* itself.

1.5.6.2.14.61 About *oṭu* **and** *atu*: 124 in Nannūl deals with the exception to its general rule 110. According to Nannūl's scheme of treating the case signs of the various endings, it mentions here the third case sign /oṭu/ and the sixth case sign /atu/. It also mentions the numerals and *vinai-t-tokai* in addition to the demonstrative words ending in /u/. Tolkāppiyar mentions only the demonstrative in the corresponding *sūtra* 258. Tolkāppiyar does not recognise /e/ as the interrogative base, but it is not clear why Nannūl does not mention here the interrogative word *etu*. Even Homer nods.

1.5.6.2.14.611 The non-mention of numerals and ***vinai-t-tokai*** **in** ***Tolkāppiyam***: The non-mention of numerals and *vinai-t-tokai* in Tolkāppiyam requires an explanation. Tolkāppiyar has made clear that he does not try to lay down rules for *uriccol* and suffixes except when he gives alternant forms for words;[8] nor does he consider the *paṇpu-t-tokai* and *vinai-t-tokai* as consisting of two words for the purpose of *sandhi*. He looks upon them as cases of *marūu* or telescoping. It is curious that Tolkāppiyar in his *eḻuttatikāram* has no reference to all the compounds mentioned in Collatikāram attributed to him. There is a reference to the *iru peyar-t-tokai* "compound of two nouns".[9] We know *vērrumai-t-tokai*

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8. Ibid 482
9. Ibid 224

is also an *irupeyar-t-tokai* and therefore he contrasts the *ummai-t-tokai* by calling it *ummai eñciya irupeyar-t-tokai moḻi* "compound noun consisting of two words where the additive particle /*um*/ is absent" The importance of this is overlooked by Iḷampūraṇar who looks upon *eñciya* as an unnecessary word just to remain there as the definition as *irupeyar oṭṭu-p-paṇpu-t-tokai. uvamai-t-tokai* is from one point of view a *vēṟṟumi-t-tokai. aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* is really one or other of the various kinds of compounds differentiated only by the additional shift in meaning. Terms like *viṉāviṉ kiḷavi*[10] will suggest that probably Tolkāppiyar took the *irupeyar oṭṭu* other than *ummai-t-tokai* as really a *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai.* As Dr. Caldwell points out the attribute-meaning develops from the genitive or the locative.

The numerical compounds are explained in *kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṇariyal.* The form of the word for seven is taken as *ēḻ* as a consonantal ending by Tolkāppiyam. But Naṉṉūl looks upon it as ending in /*u*/. This is probably to explain all numbers other than the higher ones to end in /*u*/. More and more words came to end in /*u*/ by the time of Naṉṉūl. Therefore the term /*eṇ*/ 'number'[11] should be taken as referring only to this number seven which alone ends in *muṟṟiyalukaram.* With reference to the forms like *oru kaḷiṟu* "one elephant" they are covered by Naṉṉūl 133. Since Naṉṉūl does not follow Tolkāppiyam in its conception of *viṉai-t-tokai* and *paṇpu-t-tokai* as inseparable units it has to mention the bound forms of the verb roots occurring as the first part of the *viṉai-t-tokai.*

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10. Ibid 225
11. See in TE *sūtra* 124

1.5.6.2.14.62 about *atu+aṉṟu*: *Sūtra* 125 of Naṉṉūl corresponds to 259 in Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyar speaks of /*u*/ ending in *atu* becoming /*ā*/[12]. Because according to him *atu+aṉṟu* becomes *atāaṉṟu*. According to Naṉṉūl the /*u*/ will disappear[13] and therefore it states that the initial /*a*/ of *aṉṟu* is lengthened. Tolkāppiyar will treat *atāaṉṟu* as a case of *uyiraḷapeṭai*. Naṉṉūl in its age does not know of vowel clusters nor of the rule $\check{V}^1 + \check{V}^2 > \bar{V}^2 + \check{V}^2$. But *atu+ai>atai* is not specifically stated in Naṉṉūl because it is covered by the rule 108.

1.5.6.2.14.63 About *eru* **and** *ceru*: The rules about *eru* and *ceru*[14] and *paḻu*[15] and the demonstrative nouns taking *cāriyai*[16] are cases of *cāriyai* and therefore not mentioned here so as to correspond to Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 261, 262, 263 and 264. In addition Tolkāppiyam 261 and 262 refer to forms which have gone out of usage by the time of Naṉṉūl.

1.5.6.2.14.7 *Naṉṉūl's* **treatment of** *kuṟṟiyalukaram* **ending**: From *sūtra* 126 onwards Naṉṉūl, deals with kuṟṟiyalukaram. As usual Naṉṉūl summarises TE 412, 426 and 427. TE *Sūtras* 428 and 429 probably consist of forms which went out of general use by the time of Naṉṉūl. The exception to *vēṟṟumai* is mentioned in Naṉṉūl 128. Tolkāppiyam 412 and 413 are reworded in Naṉṉūl 128 in a simple way, for Tolkāppiyam does not specifically mention /*ṭ*/ and /*ṟ*/. The rule about the changing of the nasals into plosives mentioned in

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12. TE *sūtra* 259
13. Naṉṉūl *Sūtra* 108
14. TE *sūtras* 261, 262 and 264 respectively.
15. ,, ,,
16. ,, ,,

Tolkāppiyam 415, 417 and 430 is elegantly summarised in Naṉṉūl 129. Tolkappiyam lays down the change[17] but gives the few exceptions later but Naṉṉūl in its summary speaks of a few words not following this rule of change. Iḷampūraṇar mentions in addition cases of optional behaviour like *pāmpu kōṭpaṭṭāṉ* ~ *pāppukkōṭpaṭṭān.* This is covered by Naṉṉūl's general rule.

1.5.6.2.14.71 *Tolkāppiyam sūtras* **omitted by** *Naṉṉūl:* Naṉṉūl has no corresponding *sūtras* to Tolkāppiyam 412, 416, 418, 419, 421 and 423 because the latter refer to *cāriyais.*

Tolkāppiyar speaks of /*ai*/ coming at the end of *atai. atai* and *atu* are alternant forms. There are other words ending in /*u*/ which have alternant forms ending in /*ai*/. These are not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. But Iḷampūraṇar mentions about these[18]. One has to consider the relationship of this /*ai*/ with /*am*/. Probably Tolkāppiyam did not look upon them as alternant forms. In any case Naṉṉūl which does not mention the coming in of *cāriyai*, in giving this *sūtra* 130 stating that there are kuṟṟiyalukaram ending words which take /*ai*/ at the end goes against its scheme. Perhaps one has to conclude that Naṉṉūl did not think of /*ai*/ as a *cāriyai.*

1.5.6.2.14.72 Words of direction: Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 432 and 433 deal with words of direction like north, south etc. Tolkāppiyam 432 which lays down the coming in of /*ē*/ is not mentioned in Naṉṉūl, because usages like *vaṭakkē teṟku* have fallen into disusage. Naṉṉūl 131 corresponds to Tolkāppiyam 433. The word *iṟuti* in 433 should be taken as referring to the final syllable and not to the final sound alone

17. TE *sūtra* 415
18. See under TE *sūtra* 426

Tolkāppiyam speaks there only of *teṟku* becoming *teṉ* thus contemplating the loss of the final syllable. Naṉṉūl also provides for words of direction followed by words other than the words of direction. Because of various optional changes occurring in this kind of *sandhi* even in the age of Iḷampūraṇar, Naṉṉūl adds *piṟa* i.e. there are other rules.

1.5.6.2.14.73 About *teṅku*: *Sūtra* 132 deals with the form *tēṅkāy*, 'coconut' a form which must have become very frequent by the time of Naṉṉūl. Iḷampūraṇar gives the form as *teṅkaṅkāy*.

1.5.6.2.14.74 About *a°°tu*: *a°°tu* etc., when followed only by consonant becomes *atu* etc[19]. but since by the time of Naṉṉūl these have become archaic relics, Naṉṉūl has no use for these *sūtras*.

But Naṉṉūl also does not mention Tolkāppiyam 431 probably because the form *uḷporuḷ* will be taken as *paṇpu-t-tokai*.

1.5.6.2.14.75 Numerals and their changes: From *sūtra* 133 to 144 Naṉṉūl deals with numerals and their changes. The changes are tabulated and compared with the changes noted in Tolkāppiyam. In the chart P stands for plosive; N for homorganic nasal; V for vowel.

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19. TE *sūtras* 424 and 425.

RULES REGARDING NUMERALS

Sūtra No.	*Naṉṉūl*			*Tolkāppiyam*			*Sūtra No.*
133	Words denoting						
	oṉṟu	[Number, [Weight	> *o – φ*	*oṉṟu*	[[*pattu*	> *oṉ φ*	
	iraṇṭu	[Measure, [Others	> *ī – φ*	*iraṇṭu*	[	> *iraṇ φ*	438
	oṉṟu	[,,	> *oṉ φ*	*oṉ*	[	> *or+u>oru*	
		[		*iraṇ*	[*pattu*		
	iraṇṭu	[,,	> *iraṇ φ*				
134	*oṉ*	[,,	> *or+u>oru*	,,	[Measure [Weight	,,	446
	iraṇ	[,,	> *irφφ+u>iru*				
				,,	[*nūṟu*	,,	460
				,,	[*nūṟāyiram*	,,	471
				,,	[Words other than [Weight, Measure, [Number beginning with *k–, c–, t–, p–, ñ–,*	> *oru-* > *iru-~iraṇṭu*	478
					n–, m–, y–. v–, ma–…	,,	480

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		oru [Weight and Measure beginning with] V- > *orφ* > *ōr*	
		īru [,, > *irφ* > *īr*	455
		,, [Other than Weight & Measure > ,,	479; 464 &
		,, [*āyiram* > ,,	465.
133, 135	*mūṉ[ṟɯ]* [Weight, [Measure, [Number, [Others > *mu-* [The other [changes must be assumed as already stated.	*mūṉ[ṟɯ]* [*pattɯ* > *muṉ-* > *mup-*	441
		,, [Measure, Weight beginning with P- > *muṉ* > *muP*	446, 447, 449
		,, [Measure, Weight beginning with *n-* > *muṉ* > *mun-*; m- *mum-*	451
		,, [,, V- > *muṉ-* > *muv-*	452
		,, [,, V- > *muṉ-* > *muv-*	456
		mu [*uḻakkɯ* > *mū*	457
		mūṉ[ṟɯ] [*nūṟɯ* > *muṉ-* > *mun-*	460, 461
		mūṉ[ṟɯ] [*āyiram* > *muṉ-* > *muv-*	466
		mūṉ[ṟɯ] [*nūṟāyiram* > *muṉ* > *mun-* *mūṉṟɯ*	471
		mūṉ[ṟɯ] [Words other than Measure etc. beginning with *k-, c-, t-, p-,* > *mu -* ; *ñ-, n-, m -,* *mūṉṟɯ*	478
		y-, v-, and *mā* ,,	480

136	*nāṉ[kɯ]*	[Number [Weight [Measure > *nāl-* ~ *nāṟ-* [The disappearance of *-kɯ* must be assumed by the rule already stated]	*nāṉ[kɯ]*	[*pattɯ* > *nāṟ-* [The disappearance of *kɯ-* must be assumed]	442
			nāṉ[kɯ]	[Weight *k-* [Measure *c-* *t-* *p-* * > *nāṟ-* [* Given by Iḷampūraṇar under 447]	446
			nāṉ[kɯ]	[Weight [Measure, *v-* > *nāl-*	453
			,,	[V- * > *nāl-*	456
			,,	[*nūṟɯ* > *nāṉ-*	462
			,,	[*āyiram* > *nāṉ-*	467
			,,	[*nūṟāyiram* > **nāṉ-* ~ *nāṉkɯ*	471
			nāṉ[kɯ]	[*p-* [*n-* *nāṟ-* ~ [*n-* [*m-* *nāl-* ~ [*y-* [*v-* *nāṉkɯ* [*V-* [*mā*	476 480
137	*ain [tɯ]*	[Number [Weight [Measure, Others. [*X-* > *ai X-*	*ain [tɯ]*	[*pattɯ* > *aim-*	443

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
137	*ain* [*tɯ*] [*P*–>*ai* *N*–	*ain*[*tɯ*] [Weight [Measure [*k*– >ai N– [*c*– [*t*– [*p*–	448
	ain [*tɯ*] [>*aiφ*–	*ain*[*tɯ*] [*n*– >*ain*– [*m*– >*aim*–	451
		ain[*tɯ*] [*v*– >*aiφ*–	454
		ain[*tɯ*] [V– >*aiφ*–	456
		ain[*tɯ*] [*nūṟɯ* >*ain*–	462
		ain[*tɯ*] [*āyiram* >*aiY*–	468
		ain[*tɯ*] [*nūṟāyiram* >**ain*– ~ *aintɯ*	471
		ain[*tɯ*] [*k*–, *c*–, *t*–, *p*–, *ñ*– >*ain*– *n*–, *m*–, *y*–, *v*–, *mā*– *aim*– *aiφ*– *aiṇṭɯ*–	478
138	*eṭṭɯ* [>*eṇ*– (The disappearance of the final syllable should be assumed by 133.)	*eṭ*>*eṇ*	444

139	*oṉpa∘°tɯ + pattɯ > oṉpa∘°tɯ + nūṟɯ > t + oṉpa∘°tɯ + nūṟu > toṉϕ + nūṟɯ > toṉ + nūṟɯ > toṇ + nūṟɯ > toṇṇūṟɯ* [The '*n*' becoming '*ṇ*' in *nūṟu* has to be assumed]	*oṉpa∘°tu* will get '*t*' before '*o*' *t + oṉpa∘°tɯ > toṉpa∘°tɯ* *toṉ[pa∘°tɯ > toṇṇ + ϕϕtɯ > toṇṇ + ū + tɯ > toṇṇūϕ + ṟɯ > toṇṇūṟɯ*	445
	oṉpa∘°tɯ + nūṟɯ > oṉpa∘°tɯ + āyiram > t + oṉpa∘°tɯ + āyiram > toṉϕ + āyiram > toṉ + āyiram > toṉ[āyiram > toḷ- > toḷḷāyiram	*oṉpa∘°tɯ = t + oṉpa∘°tɯ > toṉpa∘°tɯ* *toṉ[pa∘°tɯ > toḷ- toḷḷ + nūṟɯ > toḷḷ]nūṟɯ > ϕāṟɯ > toḷḷ]ϕā[ṟɯ > + i + ra > toḷḷāyira + ṟɯ > toḷḷāyira + ϕ + m > toḷḷāyiram.*	463
140	*oṉṟɯ*] *iraṇṭɯ*] *mūṉṟɯ*] *nāṉkɯ*] *aintɯ*] *āṟɯ*] *ēḻu*] *eṭṭɯ*] — *pattɯ > paϕtɯ > patɯ* or *pa∘°tu*	*oṉṟɯ*] *iraṇṭɯ*] *mūṉṟɯ*] *nāṉkɯ*] *aintɯ*] *āṟɯ*] *ēḻɯ*] *eṭṭɯ*] *oṉpatɯ*] — *pattɯ > paϕtɯ + ∘° > pa∘°tɯ*	438
141	*orupa∘°tɯ* [*oṉṟɯ* *> orupaϕtu* *> orupattu* etc. *irupa∘°tɯ* [*iraṇṭɯ*	*orupa∘°tɯ* [*oṉṟɯ* etc. [etc. *> orupaϕtɯ > orupattɯ* etc.	475

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	muppa°°tɯ [*mūṉṟɯ* *nāppa°°tɯ* [*nāṉkɯ* *aimpa°°tɯ* [*aintɯ* *aṟupa°°tɯ* [*āṟɯ* *eḻupa°°tɯ* [*ēḻɯ* *eṇpa°°tɯ* [*eṭṭɯ* [*oṉpatɯ* and Weight, Measure, etc.		
142	*pattɯ* [*oṉṟɯ* to *pattɯ*, *āyiram*, *kōṭi*, number > *patϕ* + *iṉ* > [Weight, measure etc. *patiṉ* –[or] *patϕ* + *iṟṟɯ* > *patiṟṟɯ*	*pattɯ* [*oṉṟɯ*, *mūṉṟɯ*, *nāṉkɯ*, *aintɯ*, *āṟɯ*, *ēḻ*, *eṭṭɯ* > *patϕ* + *iṉ* > *patiṉ* [Left out '*iraṇṭɯ*' and '*oṉpatɯ*']	434
	oṉpatɯ [,, ,,	*pattɯ* [*āyiram* > *patϕ* + *iṉ* > *patiṉ*	436
		pattɯ [Weight, Measure > *patϕ* + *iṉ* > *patiṉ*	437
		oṉpatɯ will get '*iṉ*' > *oṉpatiṉ*	459
		oṉpatɯ [*āyiram* > *oṉpatɯ* + *iṉ* > *oṉpatiṉ*	470
143	*pattɯ*[*iraṇṭɯ* > *patϕ* > *pan*–	*pattɯ* [*iraṇṭɯ* > *pat* > *paϕ* > *paṉṉ*–	435

144 oṉṟɯ + oṉṟɯ]
iraṇṭɯ + iraṇṭɯ]
mūṉṟɯ + mūṉṟɯ]
nāṉkɯ + nāṉkɯ]
aintɯ + aintɯ]
āṟɯ + āṟɯ]
ēḻɯ + ēḻɯ]
eṭṭɯ + eṭṭɯ]
pattɯ + pattɯ] > oφφφ + oṉṟɯ

i ,, + iraṇṭɯ
mu ,, + mūṉṟɯ
na ,, + nāṉkɯ
ai ,, + aintɯ
a ,, + āṟɯ
eφφ + ēḻɯ
eφφφ + eṭṭɯ
pa ,, + pattɯ

[V- > -v-
C- > -C-

Not stated

Rules not discussed in Naṉṉūl but stated in Tolkāppiyam

469 *aṟɯ* [*āyiram* > *aṟφ*
471 *oru nūṟāyiram* etc.,
472 *nūṟɯ* [*oṉṟɯ* to *oṉpatɯ* > *nūṟṟɯ*
473 *nūṟɯ* [*orupa°°tɯ* etc., > ,,
474 *nūṟɯ* [Measure, Weight > ,,

1.5.6.2.14.8 Exceptions to /ū/ ending: *Sūtra* 145 in Naṉṉūl refers to the exception to the general rule with reference to the word ending in /ū/. In Tolkāppiyar's age the short vowel came in after long mono-syllabic words or words consisting of a short open syllable and a long open syllable. This was no more the rule in the age of Naṉṉūl; therefore 268 and the first line of 269 have no place in Naṉṉūl. The doubling of the plosives is covered by the general rule and therefore the coming in of the nasal alone is noted in Naṉṉūl 145. The wording of this *sūtra* has been inspired by Iḷampūraṇar's remarks.

With reference to *ā* and *mā* Naṉṉūl has followed Tolkāppiyam in taking *āṉ* and *māṉ* as alternants. Probably these latter are the changed forms of *āaṉ* and *māaṉ*. Therefore in these cases Naṉṉūl goes against its scheme of not mentioning *cāriyai* in this chapter by providing *cāriyai* in *puṟanaṭai*[20].

/ū/ also comes under the same category as *ā* and *mā*. According to Tolkāppiyar /ū/ is the basic form and *ūṉ* is the alternant. But Naṉṉūl takes *ūṉ* itself as the basic form[21]. Therefore there is no corresponding *sūtra* for Tolkāppiyam 270. As already stated Naṉṉūl does not deal with *cāriyai* in this chapter and also does not have corresponding *sūtra* for TE 271 and 272.

1.5.6.2.14.9 Exceptions to /ē/ and /ō/ endings: With reference to the words ending in /ē/ and /ō/ Naṉṉūl summarises Tolkāppiyam 276, 291 and 292. But as

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20 Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 198

21. Ibid *sūtra* 161

usual Nannūl does not give the specific grammatical meaning. Therefore the rule will apply to all cases without the necessity for the extensions suggested by Iḷampūraṇar.

1.5.6.2.14.91 TE ***Sūtras*** **omitted by** ***Nannūl*** **with reference to** */ē/ ending*: *Sūtras* 271, 272, 278 293 294 and 295 of Tolkāppiyam were no longer the rules as already stated above under Nannūl *sūtra* 200. Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 280 lays down the *cāriyai* and this has no corresponding *sūtra* in Nannūl. That form must have also become antiquated.

1.5.6.2.14.10 Exceptions to */ai/* **ending**: *Sūtras* 147 and 148 in Nannūl deal with words ending in */ai/*. The final */ai/* is replaced by */am/*. But this is restricted to *panai, arai* and *āvirai* "names of trees". But by the time of Nannūl this rule was applicable to more words and thus the general statement in Nannūl 147. Here again Pavaṇanti goes against his scheme in mentioning the */am/ cāriyai*.

1.5.6.2.14.101 about *panai*: Tolkāppiyam 286 refers to the form *paṇai-k-koṭi* as not to be rejected. Nannūl 148 lays down the rule of the doubling of the plosive. It also lays down for the forms *panantiraḷ* and *panai-t-tiraḷ*. This has been stated by Nannūl following Iḷampūraṇar. Nannūl 148 also provides for the form *panāṭṭu*. Tolkāppiyar explains this as *panai + aṭṭu > pan + aṭṭu > panāaṭṭu*. But Nannūl speaks of the */a/* of *aṭṭu* being lengthened. By the time of Nannūl the short */a/* after */ā/* should have been disappeared.

1.5.6.2.14.102 TE ***sūtras*** **omitted by** ***Nannūl*** **with reference to** */ai/ ending:* Tolkāppiyam 287 and 288 dealing with *cāriyai* find no corresponding *sūtra* in Nannūl. TE *sūtra*

289 explaining the form *vēṇavā* also has no corresponding rule in Naṉṉūl because that form is of antiquarian interest.

Tolkāppiyam 296 is of no relevence in the age of Naṉṉūl because /*kau*/ may be explained as a verbal noun with a /*u*/ as a suffix. Therefore the extension of Tolkāppiyam 296 explained by Iḷampūraṇar is therefore not required.

1.5.7 PULḶIMAYAṄKIYAL

1.5.7.1. *Tolkāppiyam*

1.5.7.11 Verbal nouns: The changes that take place when a word ends in a consonant and is followed by a vowel have already been mentioned. But if the consonantal ending is followed by another consonant and these are classes of sounds rather than individual sounds they have been dealt with in the *tokaimarapu* chapter. The changes undergone by the final consonant and by the initial plosive of the subsequent word remain to be discussed in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal*. The verbal nouns which have the form of the verbal roots take the *cāriyai* /*u*/ and thereafter the following plosive doubles. Verbal nouns ending in /*-ñ*/, /*-ṇ*/, /*-m*/, /*-l*/ and /*-ḷ*/ behave like this.[1] *muraṇ* "battle" is an exception to this rule where final /*-ṇ*/ > /*-ṭ*/ without taking the /*u*/[2]. The /*-ñ*/ ending words get this /*u*/ even when they are followed by words which begin with a nasal.[3]

It will be thus seen that a pause is being developed after the subject whilst compounds become well knit wholes. On the analogy of the verbal noun forms other words alsotake the /*u*/. *porun* "agreement?"[4], *īm*, *kam* and *urum*[5], *miṉ* "lightning", *piṉ* "tangle", *paṉ* "tooth of a sickle/cotton" and *kaṉ* "stone"[6], *val* "dice"[7] *tev* "enemity/war"[8], *puḷ* "drink/an instrument of torture"[9] and *vaḷ* "sword/thong"[10] are such words.

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1. See TE *sūtras* 297, 307, 328, 377 and 402 for /*-ñ*/, /*-ṇ*/, /*-m*/, /*-l*/ and /*-ḷ*/ endings respectively.

2 to 9. TE *sūtras* 310, 298, 299, 329, 346, 374, 382, 402 respectively.

10. Ibid 390

ē<u>l</u> "seven" also takes /*u*/, but there is a shortening of the initial long vowel when it is followed by words denoting measures, weights and numbers e.g. *ē<u>l</u>* [*k*– etc. > *e<u>l</u>*+*u*[*k*–. The author states that the learned do not object to this rule. Therefore this is a permissive rule due to new forms becoming frequent. Probably *ē<u>l</u>* remained as it is in earlier times. But if the word that follows begins in a vowel, /*u*/ does not come in. But here the author does not mention that the initial syllable will be lengthened. Therefore *ē<u>l</u>āyiram* was also possible[11]. The later day rule is: (C)V̄C [V–>(C)V̄C+V–; (C)V̄ [C>(C)V̆C+V[C– But in Tolkāppiyar's age this has not become well settled. Hence we also have [C]V̄C [V–> CV̆C+V–. See also the changes of *ōr* and *īr*[12]. If *ē<u>l</u>* is followed by *nū<u>r</u>āyiram* there is no change[13] i. e. [C] V̄C [C–>CV̄C+C–. If it is followed by the numbers *tāmarai*, *veḷḷam* or *āmpal*, it does not change[14] [C] V̄C [t–> [C] V̄C t–

[C] V̄C+ā–>[C]V̄Cā–

[C] V̄C+v–>[C]V̄Cv–

If *ē<u>l</u>* is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, [in other places] the word does not change[15] i.e. [C] V̄C [V–>(C)V̄C+V–. If that is so except in a few irregular cases mentioned, the ordinary rule which has taken shape later seems to have begun operating even in Tolkāppiyar's age. See also the changes in the words *o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u*, *iraṇṭu* etc.[16]

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11. Ibid 392
12. Ibid 455, 464 and 478.
13. Ibid 393
14. Ibid 394
15. Ibid 395
16. Ibid 455, 464, 478 etc.

1.5.7.1.2 *Kiḷai-p-peyar*:

The words denoting the community or kinsmen are called *kiḷai-p-peyar*. They ended in /ṇ/ or /ṉ/ in the age of Tolkāppiyar such as *umaṇ* and *eyiṉ*. When followed by a plosive the ending did not change even when forming compounds[17]. So also the words *āṇ* and *peṇ*[18] when denoting both the humans and the non-humans.

1.5.7.1.3 PAUSE AND NO-PAUSE:

Ordinarily whenever there is a pause the final ending will not be changed. If the immediate constituents become well knit together, then the final nasal becomes its corresponding plosive or it takes a vowel and gets the following plosive doubled. Therefore we have to discuss the cases where there is a pause, and instances where there is no such pause. We saw the distinction made by Tolkāppiyar between nominative case and other cases, in that there was a pause in the former case. Therefore in all cases of non-nominative nouns, such changes occur when there is no pause.

1.5.7.1.3·1 Non-nominative form:

1.5.7.1.3.11 */-ṇ/ ending*: These non-nominative forms may be taken up for consideration. We have already seen the verbal nouns. In non-nominative nouns /ṇ/ becomes /ṭ/[19] except in the words *āṇ* and *peṇ*.

1.5.7.1.3.12 */m/ ending*: Words including the words of measurement and weight ending in /m/ lose the /m/ and get

17. Ibid 308 and 339
18. Ibid 304
19. Ibid 303

the following plosives doubled[20]. But the word '*num*' does not lose the final /*m*/ and changes into the homorganic nasal[21]. According to Tolkāppiyam the basic form is *num* and *nīyir* is its alternant form in the nominative case. But the *sūtra* 327 which explains the process of *num* becoming *nīyir* is suspicious, for it is very much like the *sūtras* explaining *toṉṉūṟu* and *toḷḷāyiram*. In some places the final /*m*/ optionally becomes either homorganic plosive or gets the succeeding plosive doubled[22] The *sūtra* about the form *ellām* will be discussed later.

1.5.7.1.3.13 /*ṉ*/ **ending**: /*ṉ*/ ending, when followed by the plosives becomes /*ṟ*/[23]. But *kuyiṉ* "cloud" does not so change[24]. Perhaps this is an ancient form not very frequent in the later age. The word *mīṉ* "fish" optionally becomes /*ṟ*/[25].

1.5.7.1.3.14 /*y*/, /*r*/, /*ḻ*/ **endings**: /*y*/, /*r*/, /*ḻ*/ endings double the following plosives[26]. But *tāy* "mother" is an exception[27] except when it is preceded by the word *makaṉ* "son" and followed by a word denoting quarrel[28]. The exceptions show the conflict of the older and newer usages.

1.5.7.1.3.15 /*l*/ **ending**: The /*l*/ ending like the /*ṉ*/ ending becomes /*ṟ*/[29]. When followed by a nasal this /*l*/ becomes /*ṉ*/[30].

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20. Ibid 311 and 320
21. Ibid 326
22. Ibid 313

23 to 25. Ibid 333, 336, 340 respectively.

26. Ibid 358, 368 and 384.

27 to 30. Ibid 359, 360, 367 and 368 respectively.

1.5.7.1.3.16 **/ḷ/ ending.** /ḷ/ ending becomes /ṭ/ when followed by a plosive and becomes /ṇ/ when followed by a nasal[31]. The word *makkaḷ*, though belonging to the human class, gets its /ḷ/ changed into /ṭ/[32] as an exception to the rule 154. The exception itself shows that the later day conception of treating this word as *uyartiṇai* is a gradual development.

1.5.7.1.4 DIFFERENCE IN ARRANGEMENT.

There is a difference between the arrangement of the *sūtras* followed in *uyirmayaṅkiyal* and that followed in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal.* In the former the nominative nouns are first dealt with and later the non-nominative nouns are explained. In the latter this arrangement is reversed. Generally it is the non-nominative nouns that are first described before the nominative nouns. In *uyirmayaṅkiyal* both these nouns followed the same rule of doubling the following plosives except in the few instances mentioned. In *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* the non-nominative nouns generally follow the rule of non-pause *sandhi* whilst the nominative nouns ordinarily follow the rule of a *sandhi* where there is a pause. Even in *uyirmayaṅkiyal* it has been noted that the nominative nouns slowly developed a longer pause. That tendency seems to be more or less well settled early enough with reference to nominative nouns ending in consonants. But even here one must note that the rule has not become uniform without an exception either with reference to nominative nouns or non-nominative nouns. Some of the consonantal endings were behaving like non-nominatives by taking an /u/ and doubling the following plosive as explained above. The word like *eṉ* [the

31. Ibid 397 and 398
32. Ibid 405

modern form is *eḷ*] follows the older rule of no-pause even when it is a nominative noun. But the rule of pause has come to apply in many cases even with reference to this word.[33] The word *maṉ*, *ciṉ*, *āṉ*, *iṉ*, *piṉ*, *muṉ* behave like non-nominative nouns and get their /*ṉ*/ ending changed into /*ṟ*/ when followed by a plosive[34]. There is the conditional non-finite verbal participle ending in /*ṉ*/ [of the pattern *ceyiṉ*]. This also becomes /*ṟ*/[35]. We have already seen that the non-finite verbal participles except the conjunctive participles have usually no pause after them. The word *vayiṉ* which occurs with the demonstrative or interrogative bases also changes the /*ṉ*/ into /*ṟ*/[36]. This is the *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam *eḻuttatikāram* where the interrogative base form /*e*/ is mentioned. One may on this score suspect the authenticity of this *sūtra*. Words ending in /*l*/ and /*ḷ*/, in some cases follow the older rule of changing into their corresponding plosives /*ṟ*/ and /*ṭ*/ respectively when followed by a plosive.[37] The words *nel* "paddy", *cel* "cloud", *kol* and *col* "word/paddy" uniformly change their ending into /*ṟ*/ even when they are in the nominative case[38] i.e., the old state of the language is still preserved in these usages..

Elsewhere the nominative nouns follow the rule of *sandhi* where there is no pause. Such words ending in /*m*/ do not disappear when followed by a plosive; instead they become the homorganic nasal of the following plosive[39].

33. Ibid 309
34–35. Ibid 334
36. Ibid 335
37. Ibid 369 and 399.
38. Ibid 372
39. Ibid 315

This rule applies to words like *ellār, ellīr, tām, nām, yām*[40]. The words ending in /l/ when preceded by a long syllable follow the older rule of changing into /ṟ/; but the rule of no-change is also found probably as a newly gaining tendency in Tolkāppiyar's age[41]. The same may be said of the /l/ ending and here the *sūtra* 401 is much more specific. The word *il*, the noun predicate, becomes *illā* or *illai*. The *illā* form follows the ancient rule of doubling the following plosive. *il* does not undergo any change, as prescribed by the new usage coming frequent. The form *illai* follows both the rules[42]. The III person word *ellām* will take the /*vaṟṟu*/ *cāriyai* even when taking the case sign. But if it is in the nominative case the *cāriyai* will disappear[43]. But the doubling of the plosive will continue. To that extent the nominative noun follows the old rule which is applicable to both the nominatives and non-nominatives. But slowly as already stated different rules come to apply i. e. the /m/ ending of *ellām* without disappearing and allowing a plosive to come in allows a nasal to come in. In other words the word *ellām* remains without change except that the /m/ becomes the homorganic nasal of the following plosive[44]. The words *tāṉ* and *yāṉ* undergo the change prescribed for non-nominatives i. e. the vowel in the initial syllable is shortened and *yā* becomes /e/[45]. The final /ṉ/ changes into /ṟ/. But if it

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40. Ibid 322
41. Ibid 371
42. Ibid 373
43. Ibid 323
44. Ibid 324
45. Ibid 353

is a nominative noun it does not undergo any of the changes.[46] The word ending in /*y*/ if it is a nominative noun, does not double the following plosive[47].

1.5.7.1.5 DISTURBANCE

On account of this new distinction, the old *sandhi* rules applicable to nominatives or non–nominatives, stood disturbed i. e. they continued to apply in some cases. Because of this disturbance, by some hyper–urbanisation with reference to certain words in non–nominatives the latter also did not follow the old rule, perhaps, on the analogy of the corresponding nominatives. [1] the words *āṇ* and *peṇ*[48], [2] all the words ending in /*ṇ*/ or /*n̲*/ denoting community[49] and [3] the word *tāy* "mother" except when preceded by *makan̲* "son" etc.,[50] follow the rule of no change. The final /*-m*/ in words ending in /*-m*/ is not always lost and gets the following plosives doubled. Sometimes the /*m*/ remains only changing into the nasal homorganic to the plosive following.[51] When *ilam* and *paṭu* come together the /*m*/ is not lost[52]. *ilam* meaning poverty is a non–nominative. With reference to certain words ending in /*m*/, though Tolkāppiyar speaks of the /*m*/ being lost and the nasal coming in that place, one may see that they are really cases of no–change i. e. the /*m*/ becoming a nasal homorganic to

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46. Ibid 354
47. Ibid 362
48. Ibid 304
49. Ibid 308, 339
50. Ibid 359, 360
51. Ibid 313
52. Ibid 317

the following plosive. *ellār, ellīr* take the *cāriyais tam* and *num* respectively according to 192 and the final /*m*/ becomes homorganic with the following plosive[53]. The word *ellām* sometimes follows the ordinary rule applicable to the non-nominatives[54]. But there are cases where this behaves like a nominative[55]. *ellām* may occur as a I person word which according to Tolkāppiyar belongs to human category, where it takes the *cāriyai nam*[56]. See here also that the /*m*/ is not lost[57]. The word *num* also does not lose its /*m*/[58]. The loss of /*m*/ at least with reference to *nam* is attested in the *Caṅkam* literature see *nam pulantu > nappulantu*[59]. *kuyiṉ* "cloud" even when it is a non-nominative noun does not undergo any change. The case of *tēṉ* has already been discussed. The word *kīḻ* which means 'east' even when it is a non-nominative noun does not uniformly follow the rule of doubling the following plosive[60].

1.5.7.1.6 EXCEPTIONAL FORMS

The following have been discussed already. [1] Some of the consonantal endings taking an euphonic vowel, [2] The loss of final nasal in *veriṉ* and *tēṉ*. [3] The rules *-a+a- > -āa*; *-ā + a- > -āa*. The second rule is tried to be set aside by the

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53. Ibid 321
54. Ibid 322
55. Ibid 324
56. Ibid 325
57. Ibid 325
58. Ibid 326
59. *Naṟṟiṇai* verse 120
60. TE *sūtra* 396

commentators because they had not recognised the full force of the vowel clusters in Tolkāppiyar's age What remain to be discussed are certain exceptional forms. (See below)

1.5.7.1.61 *akam+kai>aṅkai* "palm". Tolkāppiyar describes this as a case of loss of *kam* and as a case of the coming in of a nasal /ṅ/[61]. This is a case which Tolkāppiyar does not describe under *marūu.*

1.5.7.1.62 *il+muṉ>muṉ+il > muṉ+ṟ+il > muṉṟil* "the front yard". This is how Tolkāppiyar explains this exceptional form. But the form *muṟṟam* is still in use; if /-am/ is removed, as it may be, as what was called in later days a *cāriyai*, *muṟṟu* will remain; *muṟṟu* is *muṉ+tu.* /tu/ is a frequent formative. *muṟṟu* or *muṟṟam* is 'what is in front'. Therefore the coming in of the /ṟ/ may not be described as an inexplicable intrusion. What in later constructions [of even Tolkāppiyar's period] should occur in the order *ilmuṉ* [as genitive construction] occurs in the reverse order. This reverse order is called *marūu.* It is significant that in the penultimate *sūtra* of this *eḻuttatikāram,* Tolkāppiyar states that *marūu* cannot be explained in terms of *sandhi* rules. This consideration will make the *sūtras* suspect. But whatever that be, we have other instances like *puranakar* "the out-skirts of a city" etc., instead of *nakar-p-puṟam* etc. But *muṉṟu+il* and *puṟam+nakar* can be taken to be appositive constructions.

1.5.7.1.63 *ē̤ḷ+pattu>e̤ḻupattu*[62] *e̤ḻupattu > e̤ḻupatur* *>eḻupa°°tu*[63]. But no where is stated that *-pattu* will become

61. Ibid 316
62. Ibid 390
63. Ibid 391

patu. Perhaps on account of TE 438, which refers to all numbers except seven which are kuṟṟiyalukaram, this *sūtra* had been introduced.

1.5.7.1.64 [C]V̌*l*+*t*– > [C]V̌*l*+*ṟ*– > [C]V̌*ṟ*+*ṟ*–[64]

[C]V̌*ḷ*+*t*– > [C]V̌*ḷ*+*ṭ*– > [C]V̌*ṭ*+*ṭ*–[65]

For /*–ṟṟ–*/ in this position the variation /*–ṟ.:-*/ is provided by 370. For /*-ṭṭ-*/ in this position the variation /*-.:ṭ-*/ is provided by 400. "This is not objected to" states Tolkāppiyam. That shows that this is a less frequent usage; it may be a new change slowly coming in or an old change which has lost its frequency. There are reasons to decide that this is an ancient change still lingering on.

1.5.7.1.65 Proper names: There are proper names of persons which became telescoped. Probably the patriarchal system prevailed in the age of Tolkāppiyam. The grandson was probably named after the paternal grand father. See the word for grandson *peyaraṉ* literally meaning "one who has the names" in ancient time; this word meant also the grand father. This is because both of them had the same name. Under the rule of succession the grandson gets his right to the joint family property. The common folk in Tamil land even now say that the grandson has by birth a right to the property of the grandfather. Perhaps this rule of inheritance was prevalent in the ancient Tamil family of Tolkāppiyar's age. There were in the proper names of individuals therefore, two names recurring. Suppose the proper name is *Cāttaṉ*, *Cāttaṉ's* father was named *Cāttaṉ-tantai* "*Cāttaṉ's* father". One may wonder how a father can be named such before

64. Ibid 150 370
65. Ibid 151 399

Cāttaṉ is born. But *Cāttaṉ tantai* according to the custom above named would have been the name of the grandfather of this father. Therefore there need be only two names alternating generation after generation.

Cāttaṉ
|
Cāttaṉtantai
|
Cāttaṉ
|
Cāttaṉ-tantai
|
Cāttaṉ etc.

(a) The words *Cāttaṉ-tantai* etc., because of their frequency are liable to be telescoped. TE 348 states (that proper names end in) *-aṉ + tantai > -φ + φantai.*

e. g. *Koṟṟaṉ + tantai > Koṟṟantai*
Cāttaṉ + tantai > Cāttaṉtai

(b) There are further changes when the proper name is *ātaṉ* or *pūtaṉ.*

ātaṉ + tantai > āt + antai > ātantai.
pūtaṉ + tantai > pūtantai (348).
According to 349 *ātaṉtai > āntai.*
pūtantai > pūntai

(c) But there is one exception to this rule. If the proper name is preceded by a title etc., like */peru/* then these changes will not take plaee.[66]

e. g. *Peru(m) + Cāttaṉ + tantai > Peruñcāttaṉṟantai*
Pēr + ātaṉ + tantai > Pērātaṉtantai >
Pērātaṉṟantai.

66. Ibid 350

(d) There was also another way of having these proper names in a family. Instead of having only one proper name *Cāttaṉ* etc., and suffixing the kinship term *tantai*, there may be two proper names alternating from generation to generation. *Māṟaṉ* and *Caṭaiyaṉ* were such alternating names amongst the Pandyas. *Rājakēsari* and *Parakēsari* were such alternating names amongst the Cōlas as attested by the inscriptions.[67] From the inscriptions we get the compounds *Caṭaiyaṉ Māṟaṉ* and *Māṟaṉ Caṭaiyaṉ*, They mean respectively *Māṟaṉ*, the son of *Caṭaiyaṉ* and *Caṭaiyaṉ* the son of *Māṟaṉ*. When such compounds of proper names occur, the first is the name of the father and the second is the name of the son. It has to be interpreted as "A's son B." This was current in the age of Tolkāppiyar also. He calls this *makkaḷ muṟai* "the relationship of sons." *Cāttaṉ+koṟṟaṉ* "*Cāttaṉ's* son *Koṟṟaṉ*" > *Cātt+koṟṟaṉ*[68] > *Cātt+am+korraṉ* > *Cāttaṅkoṟṟaṉ*[69]. This rule is found to operate in the names of Pandyas. *Māṟaṉ+Caṭaiyaṉ* > *Māṟ+Caṭaiyaṉ* > *Māṟ+am+Caṭaiyaṉ* > *Māṟañ Caṭaiyaṉ*.

1.5.7.1.651 Tolkāppiyam mentions certain proper names viz., *Tāṉ*, *Pēṉ* and *Kōṉ*[70] of which some have gone out of usage even in the *Caṅkam* age. Probably they were names of Gods as is learnt from other Dravidian languages at least with referenee to *Pēṉ*. It is stated that these names do not undergo any change. These were probably considered to be too holy or sacred to suffer any change like other proper names described in the previous *sūtras*.

67. M. E. R. No. 176 of 1919 etc.
68. TE *sutra* 348
69. Ibid 351
70. Ibid 352

1.5.7.1.66 About the numeral *āyiram* : The numeral *āyiram* "thousand" will take the cāriyai /*attu*/ when followed by numerals less than *āyiram* instead of the *cāriyai* /*ē*/ stated in *tokai marapu.*[71] So is the case even when *āyiram* occurs with an attribute.[72] e. g. *āyiram* or *patiṉāyiram* "ten thousands" + *oṉṟu* > *āyira-tt-oṉṟu* / *patiṉāyira-tt-oṉṟu.*

1.5.7.1.7 GROUPING.

In both *uyirmayaṅkiyal* and *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal*, Tolkāppiyar has certain grouping in his mind, groups which are having more or less the same rules of *sandhi*. The major grouping is that of nominatives and non-nominatives. Next come the names of plants, the stars, the seasons and the months. Especially in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* the verbal nouns which have the forms of verbal roots form one group. There is the name of the community or tribe. There are the proper names. The numerals, the measures and the weights form another group. The demonstratives and interrogatives also form an important group. There are the groups of words which behave alike whether they take the case sign or the case sign suffers en ellipsis. Apart from these, Tolkāppiyar has used certain technical terms here and elsewhere which can be brought together here viz., *viṉai eñcu kiḷavai, ceyaveṉ eccam, eṉaveṉ eccam, viyaṅkōḷ* etc. *Sūtras* mentioning specific forms of words form another group. The following words are specifically mentioned : *verin* (301) *āṇ, peṇ* (304) *āṇ* (305) *viṇ* (306) *eṇ* (309), *muraṇ* (310), *akam, kai* (316), *ilam* (317), *īm, kam, urum* (319) *maṉ, ciṉ, āṉ, īn, piṉ, muṉ* (334) *kuyiṉ* (336), *ekiṉ* (337, 338) *miṉ* (340), *tēṉ* (431), *iṟāal* (344), *miṉ piṉ, paṉ, kaṉ* (346) *poṉ* (357) *tāy* (359) *makaṉ* (360) *ār, vetir, cār, pīr,* (364)

71. Ibid 318
72. Ibid 319

ñel, cel, kol, col, (372), *il* (373) *val* (374), *nāy, palakai* (375), *pūl, vēl* (376), *tāḻ, kōl* (385), *tamiḻ* (386), *kumiḻ* (387), *pāḻ* (388), *kīḻ* (396) *iruḷ* (403), *puḷ vaḷ* (404), *makkaḷ* (405).

1.5.7.1.8 MISCELLANEOUS RULE.

Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal closes with a *sūtra* which provides a kind of miscellaneous rule of exceptions. It states that on the basis of what have been explained, others may be considered and explained.[73] This *sūtra* is taken as referring only to *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* but since there is no such *sūtra* for *uyirmayaṅkiyal* this has to be taken as really applicable to that *iyal* also.

1.5.7.2 Comparison of *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* with *Tolkāppiyam puḷḷimayaṅkiyal.*

1.5.7.2.1 General scheme. *Meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* corresponds to *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* in Tolkāppiyam. Like *uyirīṟṟu-p puṇariyal* this also consists of two parts; the first part deals with general rules and the second part deals with the consonantal endings.

1.5.7.2.2 About -C+V-: *-C+V- = -CV-* (C=Consonant; V=any Vowel) *Sūtra* 139 in Tolkāppiyam mentioning this corresponds to Naṉṉūl 149. Naṉṉūl calls this *iyalpu*. But it has stated that -CV- only has the māttirai of the vowel. In this there is a change in the *māttirai* in the sense that there is a loss of the māttirai of the consonant. Therefore there is some meaning in Tolkāppiyar's phrase *avviyalkeṭuttē*. "having spoiled the nature".

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73. Ibid 406

1.5.7.2.3 About -V̌C + V-: [C]V̌C+V-=[C] V̌CCV. Tolkāppiyar has applied this rule not only to cases where the vowel follows but also to cases where the consonant follows.[74] Iḷampūraṇar states that the rule applies to cases where vowel follows. But Naṉṉūl refers to the coming in of the vowel in *sūtra* 150 whilst the coming in of the consonant is dealt with in 174. Again Iḷampūraṇar states that the rule will apply to changed forms of words. But since Naṉṉūl does not differentiate between *viti iṟu* "ending caused by *sandhi*" and *iyalpu iṟu* "natural ending" this kind of statement is not necessary.

1.5.7.2.4 About -C+y- *Sūtra* 151 speaks of -C+*y*- >*Ciy* where C is any consonant except /*y*/. This is a new change recognised in Vīracōḻiyam. Most of the consonantal endings got an increment of /*u*/ even in the age of Tolkāppiyar. This /*u*/ when followed by /y/ was changed into /*i*/. This must be considered as a kuṟṟiyalikaram though no Tamil grammar states so. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 151 is therefore corresponds to nothing in Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.7.2.5 *toḻiṟ peyar* **"Verbal nouns"** Naṉṉūl 152 is the summary of TE 296, 297, 298, 307, 328, 377 and 402. As usual Naṉṉūl differentiates between *ēval* "the imperative verb" and *muṉṉilaiviṉai* "the II person verb". Tolkāppiyar does not specifically mention the *toḻiṟ peyar* ending in /*n*/ or /*v*/. But as Iḷampūraṇar explains, this is because the words mentioned in Tolkappiyam[75] are not only *toḻiṟ peyar* but also other kinds of nouns and in those *sūtras* Tolkāppiyar makes the general rule about *toḻiṟpeyar* applicable to the other homonymous forms. Perhaps one has to assume that the

74. TE *sūtra* 161

75. Ibid *sūtras* 346 and 383.

sūtra "*toḻiṟpeyar ellām toḻiṟ peyar iyala*" should have occurred both under the parts on /*n*/ endings and /*v*/ endings. Tolkāppiyar in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* speaks of only *toḻiṟpeyar*, the imperative having been dealt with under the general rules in Tolkappiyam[76]. Pavananti in the general part of *uyiriṟṟu-p-puṇariyal*[77] dealt with the consonant endings /*y*/, /*r*/ and /*ḻ*/ which more or less behave like vowels. There he has to refer to the consonantal endings of the imperative verbs; here in *sūtra* 152 he refers to the imperatives along with *toḻiṟpeyar*. He has to make an exception to these rules when these words are followed by /*y*/ because as already stated by him[78] the /u/ becomes /*i*/. Again under the general rule Tolkāppiyar has stated that the imperative when followed by a vowel or /*y*/ will not get the increment /*u*/[79]. Naṉṉūl does not specify this environment. The /*u*/ is also optional in some cases. Therefore Pavaṇanti summarises all these cases by saying "in certain environments a few imperatives do not get the /*u*/."[80] But Naṉṉūl specifically states that *toḻiṟpeyar* ending in /*l*/ and /*ḷ*/ will not take the increment /*u*/,[81] in spite of the examples given by Iḷampūraṇar to the contrary. This shows the change which has occurred in the language after the time of Iḷampūraṇar who gives the exceptions to the Tolkāppiyam rule. One may expect Naṉṉūl to omit /*l*/ and /*ḷ*/ in *sūtra* 152. But because the increment /*u*/ occurs after the imperatives which also are dealt with in 152, /*l*/ and /*ḷ*/ cannot be omitted.

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76. Ibid *sūtras* 152 and 153.
77. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 106
78. Ibid 151
79. TE *sūtra* 164
80. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 152; "*mēvaluṟā cila alvaḻi*"
81. Ibid 175

1.5.7.2.6 About porun: Naṉṉūl also does not mention the exception of the word *muraṇ* which is referred to in Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 310. Probably because this word was not of frequent occurrence to be taken note in the age of Naṉṉūl it has to be omitted. The same may be said of *verin* referred to in Tolkappiyam 301 and 302 But it is curious that *sūtras* 299 and 300 of Tolkāppiyam referring to *porun* are summarised in Naṉṉūl 153. It must also have become of antiquarian interest by the time of Naṉṉūl. This shows that Naṉṉūl is not uniform in rejecting words which have ceased to be current.

1.5.7.2.7. Specific endings.

1.5.7.2.7.1. Some general principles. From *sūtra* 154 onwards Naṉṉūl deals with the specific endings whereas Tolkāppiyam deals with the consonantal endings in the alphabetical order of nasals first and of semi-vowels next. Naṉṉūl as usual groups certain endings when the rules can be thus generalised. /*ṉ*/ and /*ṇ*/ are thus clubbed together. So are /*y*/ and /*r*/ and /*ḻ*/; /*l*/ and /*ḷ*/ are also clubbed together. Tolkāppiyar clubs these /*ṉ*/ and /*ṇ*/ together in 147, 148 and 149. *Sūtra* 154 in Naṉṉūl summarises Tolkāppiyam 303, 148 and 149 and it provides also for instances mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar under Tolkāppiyam 148. The wording seems to suggest that Naṉṉūl had in mind Iḷampūraṇar's commentary.

1.5.7.2.7.2 About /*ṇ*/, /*ṉ*/ endings. *Sūtras* 150, 151 and 161 of Tolkāppiyam are summarised in Naṉṉūl 155. It states that the words ending in /*ṇ*/ or /*ṉ*/ when not preceded by short syllable will disappear when the coming /*r*/ is changed. But Tolkāppiyam does not specifically state that the rule occurs only when /*n*/ has changed. Iḷampūraṇar mentions this restriction and Naṉṉūl follows him.

1.5.7.2.7.21 *kiḷai-p-peyar.* Tolkāppiyam 308 refers to *kiḷai-p-peyar.* These are subdivided into *cāti* "caste" and *kuḻūu* "group" by Naṉṉūl and therefore Naṉṉūl 156 corresponds to them. 309 in Tolkāppiyam also corresponds to Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 156. It is surprising that Naṉṉūl should refer to the form *eṇ* "sesame" because by this time its shape has become *eḷ*. This is another instance where Naṉṉūl does not reflect the usages of its times. But it must be noted that Naṉṉūl following Iḷampūraṇar suggests that *eṇ* will change into *eṭ-* but only rarely. *Sūtra* 156 refers also to *paraṇ* "watchtower", *kavaṇ* "sling" and *cāṇ* "span-as a measure" which are mentioned only by Iḷampūraṇar in his commentary on Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 308. Under 308 in Tolkāppiyam Iḷampūraṇar mentions about the forms *aṅkaṭkoṇṭāṉ*, *avaṭkoṇṭāṉ* "he got there" But by the age of Naṉṉūl the optional rule must have been applicable to these as well.

Naṉṉūl does not club together /*ṉ*/ and /*ṇ*/ with reference to *kiḷai-p-peyar*, because according to Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on Tolkāppiyam 308 and 339 where /*akku*/ or /*a*/ comes as an increment. It is significant that Iḷampūraṇar's rule with reference to *kiḷai-p-peyar* ending in /*ṉ*/ has not been accepted whilst Naṉṉūl has accepted the former's rule with reference to the /*ṇ*/ ending. This is probably because the rule with reference to the /*ṉ*/ ending was not of greater frequence in the age of Naṉṉūl. Under the /*ṉ*/ ending Naṉṉūl does not differentiate between *cāti* and *kuḻūu*[82] for it is only under the /*ṇ*/ ending we will have the word /*amaṇ*/ referring to the group of Jains to which group the author of Naṉṉūl belongs.

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82. Ibid 157

1.5.7.2.7.2.2 About *mīṉ*: Tolkāppiyam 340 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 158, laying down the rule for *mīṉ* "fish"

1.5.7.2.7.2.3 About *tēṉ*: Naṉṉūl 159 referring to the word *tēṉ* corresponds to Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 341, 342, 343. It will be seen that when a nasal follows, the final /*ṉ*/ is optionally elided according to Tolkāppiyar. But according to Naṉṉūl there is no change in this environment. Again Tolkāppiyar provides for /*ṉ*/ changing into /*ṟ*/. But Naṉṉūl does not so provide. These changes are due to these rules not being current in the age of Naṉṉūl. Tolkāppiyam 344 also corresponds to 159 in Naṉṉūl. But Tolkāppiyam 345 giving the form *tēttiṟāl* has been omitted in Naṉṉūl as being no longer in force. Similarly the various forms explained by Iḷampūraṇar under TE *sūtra* 349 were not current in the age of Naṉṉūl.

1.5.7.2.7.2.4 About *ekiṉ*: *Sūtra* 338 in Tolkāppiyam referring to *ekiṉ* corresponds to 160 in Naṉṉūl. Here Naṉṉūl gives the meaning of the homonymous word in a negative way following Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyam provides an increment /*a*/ and also for the doubling of the plosive whereas Naṉṉūl true to the usage of his times provides for the no-change rule. It also provides for the older usage mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. In addition to following Iḷampūraṇar it provides for an homorganic nasal coming in after the increment /*a*/.

1.5.7.2.7.2.5 Mention about *cāriyais*: It is curious that Naṉṉūl provides *cāriyais* in *meyyīṟṟup-p-puṇariyal*. See /*u*/ in 152 and /*a*/ in 153, 157, 160, 168 and 170.

1.5.7.2.7.6 About *kuyiṉ: Sūtra* 336 referring to *kuyiṉ* in Tolkāppiyam corresponds to 161 in Naṉṉūl. But 161 adds the form *ūṉ*. This cannot be the demonstrative *ūṉ* corresponding to *iṉ* and *āṉ* mentioned in Tolkāppiyam 234 which Naṉṉūl has omitted because they were no longer current in his age. *ūṉ* "flesh" corresponds to the basic form /*ū*/ which according to Tolkāppiyam takes an increment /*ṉ*/. Therefore this is nothing to do with Iḷampūraṇar's mentioning of *ūṉ* in the commentary on Tolkāppiyam 334. Tolkāppiyam refers to *ūṉ* in *sūtras* 270 and 271. But Naṉṉūl does not recognise the coming in of increment /*a*/ because it was no longer a rule in his age.

1.5.7.2.7.2.7 About *miṉ, piṉ etc*: Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 346 and 347 correspond to Naṉṉūl 162 which speaks about words which behave like the verbal nouns. But there is a change; Tolkāppiyam provides only for the doubling of the plosive after the increment /*a*/. Naṉṉūl provides for the optional coming in of a homorganic nasal. This must be a usage new though as old as Iḷampūraṇār's. e.g. *kaṉ* [P- > *kaṉṉan taṭṭu* "scale of the balance".

1.5.7.2.7.2.8 About *tāṉ* **and** *muṉ*. Tolkāppiyam 353 and 354 which deal with the forms *tāṉ* and *yāṉ* are dealt with in Naṉṉūl *urupupuṇariyal* 192. Tolkāppiyam 354 comes under the general rule Naṉṉūl 154. Following Iḷampūraṇar Naṉṉūl 163 provides for the optional "hardening of the final /*ṉ*/ into /*ṟ*/ while 353 in Tolkāppiyam provides only for the no-change rule for *tāṉ*. Perhaps this Naṉṉūl rule is due to the extension of the Tolkāppiyam rule 157 to cases other than the second or accusative case. As far as *niṉ* is concerned the no-change rule mentioned in 254 is incorporated under Naṉṉūl 163.

1.5.7.2.7.2.9 *Tolkāppiyam sūtras* **omitted by** *Naṉṉūl.*

1.5.7.2.7.2.91 About *maṉ, ciṉ* etc. Certain rules in Tolkāppiyam are omitted. Tolkāppiyam 334 referring to *maṉ, ciṉ, āṉ, īṉ, piṉ, muṉ, ceyiṉ* is omitted because the first four are no longer current in usage whilst in the case of the rest one may be expected to say that there is an omission; perhaps by the time of Naṉṉūl the optional rule became applicable in *alvaḻi* except in compounds. The usage about *piṉ* and *muṉ* given by Iḷampūraṇar under Tolkāppiyam 334 thus becomes unnecessary. His analysis of *piṉ* and *muṉ* as coming as *urupu*, as noun, and as *vinai eccam* suffix is illuminating. Tolkāppiyam 335 referring to *verin* is also omitted because of its rare usage.

1.5.7.2.7.2.92 About */y/* **and** */ñ/*. Tolkāppiyam 147 refers to the */y/* and */ñ/* being in free variation after */ṇ/* and */ṉ/*. Naṉṉūl has omitted this because by its time it was not in usage.

1.5.7.2.7.2.93 About */āṇ/* **and** */viṇ/*: *Sūtra* 305 referring to the name of the tree *āṇ* was no longer current. *Sūtra* 306 giving the form *viṇṇattu* "in the sky" was no longer in current usage.

1.5.7.2.7.2.94 About *aḻaṉ*: Rules 348 to 352 in Tolkāppiyam referring to old proper names were no longer in use in later times. The word *aḻaṉ* was also not in use and hence the omission of Tolkāppiyam 355.

1.5.7.2.7.2.95 *marūu*. *marūu* is provided only by the general exception by the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 184. Therefore Naṉṉūl does not provide for the form *muṉṟil* "the front-yard" mentioned in Tolkāppiyam 356.

1.5.7.2.7.2.96 **About** *poṉ*. Probably Naṉṉūl does not recognise *poṉ* "gold" as an alternant of *polam* and therefore there is no corresponding *sūtra* to Tolkāppiyam 357.

1.5.7.2.7.3 About */m/* **ending.**

1.5.7.2.7.3.1 General. *Sūtras* 164 to 168 in Naṉṉūl deal wtth */m/* endings. Tolkāppiyam deals only with the instances where the initial of the following word is a plosive. Therefore 311 in Tolkāppiyam deals with the loss of the final */m/* and the doubling of the coming plosive. Tolkāppiyam 313 refers to some cases which are not however clearly defined where optionally the nasal instead of the plosive comes in. These two *sūtras* are summarised in the first line of the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 165. The second line deals only with cases where the second word begins with vowels and semi-vowels in *alvaḻi*. Therefore this *sūtra* does not refer to Tolkāppiyam 315 which provides for the final */m/* becoming the homorganic nasal. But Naṉṉūl in *sūtra* 164, provides for an alternation of final */m/* where the */m/* is lost and behaves like a vowel ending. According to this the rules relating to vowel endings will *ipso facto* apply here as well. This cannot be an automatic alternation, for, in cases where there is no compound the final */m/* becomes the nasal homorganic with the coming plosive. This is provided optionally for *vēṟṟumai* in Tolkāppiyam 313 and compulsorily for *alvaḻ*^{i} in 315. As the syntactic relation is the basis, it is not clear why this *sūtra* has been given in Naṉṉūl. Its proper place should be after the first line in Naṉṉūl 165 as laying down the rule for *alvaḻi*. As it is there are certain repetitions in Naṉṉūl 164 and 165. Naṉṉūl might have stopped with *sūtra*

164 without giving 165 and 166 which correspond to Tolkāppiyam 311, 313, 315 and 326. Tolkāppiyam 326 refers to *num* only because Tolkāppiyam takes *num* as the basic form of which *nīyir* is the alternant form. Because Naṉṉūl does not accept this view, it groups together all alternant forms *em*, *nam*, *tam*, along with *num*. Tolkāppiyam, because it has provided for the loss of the final /*m*/ already in *vēṟṟumai* speaks of the coming of a nasal or doubling of the following plosive in 313 and 326. But Naṉṉūl is not uniform; in 165 it follows Tolkāppiyam 313 and 315. But in 166 it speaks of the changing of /*m*/ into /*ñ*/ or /*n*/ according to the plosive following. But this is because this rule has to rely on *sūtra* 165 for explaining the change of /*m*/ into homorganic nasal.

1.5.7.2.7.3.2 **Numerals ending in** /*m*/. Tolkāppiyar differentiates between the ways in which the numerals and the other words behave. Therefore his rules for numbers attempt to be self consistent without referring to the general rules for other words. But Naṉṉūl in its scheme makes the general rules applicable to numerals as well. Hence, Iḷampūraṇar's special mention of *āyiranāḻi* "thousand *nāḻis*", *patiṉāyirakkalam* "ten thousand *kalams*" etc., is unnecessary in Naṉṉūl.

1.5.7.2.7.3.3 **About** *akam*. Tolkāppiyar provides for *akam*+*kai*>*aṅkai* "palm"[83]. Because he has provided for the coming in of a homorganic nasal in *sandhi*, he speaks of /*a*/ alone remaining out of *akam*. Naṉṉūl, however. in 167 speaks of the intermediate sounds viz. /*k*/ and /*a*/ being lost between the initial /*a*/ and the final /*m*/. For the /*m*/ changing into /*ṅ*/ he has to rely on 164. Iḷampūraṇar gives us a list of cases in *alvaḻi*[84] where Tolkāppiyam 315 is not followed. All

83. TE *sūrra* 316

84. See under TE *sūtras* 313 and 323.

these will come under Nannūl 164. In all these exceptional cases, as usual, the environment is not clearly defined. But one cannot say that in compounds of two nouns the loss of /m/ and the doubling of plosives are the rules and in other cases when followed by plosives the homorganic nasal rule applies; elsewhere there is no change or there is a glide.

In addition Nannūl *sūtra* 167 provides for *akam*+*cevi*> *añcevi* "the inner ear" where also the /k/+/a/ are lost. This is because, the form *añcevi* has become frequent in the post-Tolkāppiyam period as pointed out by Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.7.2.7.3.4 About *īm* **etc.** *Sūtra* 168 in Nannūl corresponds to 329 and 330 in Tolkāppiyam providing the increment /u/ for the words *īm*, *kam* and *urum*. *īm* and *kam* have become archaic by the time of Nannūl and *urum*, in the colloquial usage has also been replaced by *iṭi*. It is a pity that Nannūl should have given this unnecessary *sūtra*. It goes to explain the form *kamma-k-kuṭam* following Tolkāppiyam 330. Tolkāppiyar, because the *cāriyais* as *iṭaiccol* have to be in the canonical form, mentions /akku/ instead of /a/ as the *cāriyai* for *kam* and *īm*. Nannūl however recognises only /a/ in the place of /akku/ and posits the doubling of the coming plosive after this /a/. *īma-c-caṭaṅku* "the rituals done at the crematorium" is current now where also the /a/ occurs.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5 *Sūtras* **of** *Tolkāppiyam* **omitted by** *Nannūl.*

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.1 About *-am*+*ă*: One may turn to consider Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* which Nannūl has left out of account. *Sūtra* 312 providing form *-ām*+*ă*>*-āa-* recognising vowel clusters was no longer in force and hence not discussed in Nannūl.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.2 About *illam, ilampaṭu* etc. Tolkāppiyam 314, 317 and 320 are provided in Naṉṉūl 165 [for *illaṅkōṭu, ilampaṭu, āyirakkalam* etc.] Tolkāppiyam 318 and 319 deal with the *cāriyai* for *āyiram* which Naṉṉūl refers only in *urupu puṇariyal* according to its scheme.

1.5.7.2.7 3.5.3 About *ellām*. Tolkāppiyam 321 is provided for in Naṉṉūl 191. As *urupu puṇariyal* deals only with *vēṟṟumai* the rules 164 and 165 in Naṉṉūl will apply to *alvaḻi* and hence Tolkāppiyam 322 is left out of account. TE *sūtra* 322 about *ellām* is provided in *urupupuṇariyal* i.e. 190.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.4 About *num*. Tolkāppiyam 327 taking the basic form as *num* explains how it changes into *nīvir* in *alvaḻi*. But since Naṉṉūl does not take, as already stated *num* as the basic form it omits Tolkāppiyam 327.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.5 About */y/, /r/, /ḻ/* **endings.** Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 169 clubs together the endings */y/, /r/, /ḻ/* and thus summarises Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 358 and 362 [*/y/* in *vēṟṟumai*] 361 [*/y/ alvaḻi]* 363 [*/r/*] and 384 [*/ḻ/*].

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.51 *Sūtras of Tolkāppiyam omitted by Naṉṉūl:* Tolkāppiyam 359 is already provided foı by Naṉṉūl 104. Tolkāppiyam 360, 364, 365 and 366 are old usages and hence omitted.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.6 About *tamiḻ* **and** *tāḻ*: Naṉṉūl 170 summarises Tolkāppiyam 386 and 385. Here also, as usual, Naṉṉūl speaks of */a/* which is Tolkāppiyar's */akku/*.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.7 About *kiḻ*: Naṉṉūl 171 corresponds to Tolkāppiyam 396. Only Naṉṉūl uses the more recent word *vikaṟpam* instead of *uṟaḻ* because of Sanskrit influence.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.8 About *kumil̲, pāl̲.* Nan̲n̲ūl omits Tolkāppiyam 387 and 388 which deal with *kumil̲aṅkōṭu, pāl̲ṅkiṇar̲u* because the first is antiquated and the latter though current is not frequent. The omission of Tolkāppiyam 388 is not justified.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.9 About *ēl̲.* Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 389 to 393 refer to *ēl̲.* Tolkāppiyar takes *ēl̲* as a consonantal ending. But since Nan̲n̲ūl has taken it as ending in a vowel he has treated it in *uyirīr̲r̲u-p-puṇariyal.* The corresponding *sūtras* are Nan̲n̲ūl 133 and 144.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.10 About *tāmarai* **etc.** TE *sūtras* 394 and 396 deals with old numerals *tāmarai, veḷḷam* and *āmpal* which have ceased to be current by the time of Nan̲n̲ūl.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.11 About /l/ **and** /ḷ/ **endings.** The last group to be discussed consists of /l/ and /ḷ/. Most of the *sūtras* in this chapter in Nan̲n̲ūl refer to the groups /n̲/ and /ṇ/; /l/ and /ḷ/. There is a family likeness for the rules of the two groups because these semivowels may be looked upon as denasalised /n̲/ and /ṇ/. This basis seems to be implied in Tolkāppiyam 367 and 398, 367, 368, 369 and 397, 398, 399 are all summarised in Nan̲n̲ūl 172. As Tolkāppiyar gives the rules for all the endings when followed by words beginning in nasal and semi-vowels with reference to the rule of no-change in 145, 148, 149, he restricts himself to the words beginning with a plosive. Nan̲n̲ūl also has given the general rule in 103. In spite of it the no-change rule with reference to semi-vowels is repeated in Nan̲n̲ūl. Tolkāppiyam 368 really refers to *vēr̲r̲umai.* But as Iḷampūraṇar points out under Tolkāppiyam 368 this rule applies also to *alval̲i.*

Therefore Naṉṉūl 172 follows Iḷampūraṇar. *muḷ + tītu = muṭṭītu* or *muₒ°ₒṭītu* etc. are provided by Tolkāppiyam 370 and 400.

Tolkāppiyam does not definitely state that this refers to closed short monosyllabic words. That has to be inferred from the next *sūtra* which lays down the exception with reference to cases other than these, that is, specially to the long syllables. Even otherwise Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 38 which defines the environment for *āytam* will be so restricted. The corresponding rule in Naṉṉūl however makes this position explicit in that *sūtra* itself [173].

Tolkāppiyam already stated that *–ṉ/–l[t–/n– > –ṟ/–ṉ* [150]; *–ṇ/–ḷ[t/n > ṭ/ṇ*[401]. These correspond to *sūtra* 182 in Naṉṉūl which comes at the end of *meyyīṟṟuppuṇariyal* as the rule of automatic alternation. By the time of Naṉṉūl an exception seems to have been developed; it was only in *alvaḻi* that the final altered sound was lost before /*t*/; to differentiate the *vēṟṟumai* it was not so lost therein. But the old usage of no-loss even in *vēṟṟumai* continued in some cases. In its 229, Naṉṉūl also refers to cases where the following word began with plosives other than /*t*/. The optional variation rule for /*l*/ and /*ḷ*/ in *alvaḻi* is in some eases altered into a no-change rule with reference to certain words which are monosyllables. [Tolkāppiyam 371 and 411.] Therefore with reference to some other long monosyllabic words it will be the optional change rule. This is as far as the /*l*/ ending is concerned. With reference to the /*ḷ*/ ending also this will apply. Even in the age of Tolkāppiyam, this ending in this context followed neither the no-change rule nor the optional rule in some words, but the rule of change

prescribed for *vēṟṟumai*. But by the time of Nṉṉūl this change became applicable only to certain words ending in /l/. All these irregularities are due to analogical extension which however did not affect all the words. Naṉṉūl therefore gives expression to these changed conditions in *sūtra* 174.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.12 **About numerals.** The *sūtras* referring to the rumerals are self contained in Tolkāppiyam without taking into consideration the rules of change mentioned elsewhere. Therefore Iḷampūraṇar tries to find out some way of explaining the changes occurring in these words most often with the help of extra words which according to the then prevalent opinion amongst the commentators suggest certain rules not explicitly stated but indirectly suggested by the very fact of such words being extra words.

1.5.7.2.7,3.5.121. **Verbal nouns.** The verbal nouns getting the increment /u/ is definitely stated in 377 and 402 in Tolkāppiyam. But Naṉṉūl 175, as already stated, does not prescribe this rule because even by the time of it this rule has changed i. e. the increment /u/ did not occur. In *alvaḻi* instead of the optional change the rule of no-change applied in some cases.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.122. **About** *val*. The rules with reference to '*val*' mentioned in 374 and 375 are summarised in 176. But one wonders whether this *sandhi* was frequent in the age of Naṉṉūl. The rule of compulsory change is applied to *cel*, *nel*, *kol* and *col* even in *alvaḻi* as in Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 372. It is difficult to find out whether Naṉṉūl found this rule as being in force in his age or whether he is simply copying Tolkāppiyam.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.123. About 'il'. Tolkāppiyam 373 explains the *sandhi* rules relating to /*il*/. This is summarised in Nannūl 178. Tolkāppiyam does not definitely say that after the coming in of /a/ the plosive will double. But Nannūl makes this explicit following Iḷampūraṇam.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.124 About *puḷ* and *vaḷ*. Tolkāppiyam 404 refers to *puḷ* and *vaḷ* and Nannūl 179 corresponds to this.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.125 About *pūl*, *vēl*. One may now take up the *sūtras* in Tolkāppiyam which Nannūl omits to consider. TE *sūtra* 376 refers to *pūl*, *vēl* and *āl*. These could not be said to have become antiquated. Nannūl probably does not want to lay down the *cāriyai* rules in this chapter.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.126 About *cāriyai*. *Sūtras* 378 and 403 in Tolkāppiyam refers to old rules referring to *cāriyai*.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.127 About *makkaḷ*. Tolkāppiyam 405 refers to a case where *makkaḷ* in *alvaḷi* follows the rule of change *ḷ* > *ṭ*. Iḷampūraṇar explains the environment where the word *makkaḷ* refers to corpses. But if it mean the living human being the rule of no-change prescribed in Tolkāppiyam 154 will apply. But this evidently did not work even in the age of Tolkāppiyam where we get the form *makkaṭ cuṭṭu*. Therefore Nannūl omits this, probably bringing under his *cila vikāramām uyartiṇai*.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.13 /v/ ending. Nannūl 180 refers to the /*v*/ ending and it summarises the Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* 380, 381 and 382 The omission of the interrogative /*e*/ is certainly an omisson in Nannūl. One also wonders whether the forms like *a°°kaṭiya* were current in the age of Nannūl. Tolkāppiyar in *sūtra* 81 has stated that there are four words ending in /*v*/

in Tamil. If the words beginning with the three demonstratives are omitted the fourth word remains is /*tev*/. Tolkāppiyam does not contemplate /*ev*/. Tolkāppiyam, because of this, refers to that /*tev*/ as the /*v*/ other than the /*v*/ of demonstrative (383 Tolkāppiyam) and it gives the increment /*u*/ [*tevvu*]. In the time of Naṉṉūl the final /*v*/ herein becomes /*m*/ when followed by /*m*/. 181 in Naṉṉūl which refers to /*tev*/ includes this new rule as well.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.131 About *cāriyai*. Tolkāppiyam 379 refers to the coming in of *cāriyai*. But all these cases are generally dealt with in Naṉṉūl *urupupuṇariyal*.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.14 Avoiding repitition of rules: *Sūtra* 183 provides for the application of the rules found in *urupupuṇariyal* even when there is no *urupu*. In this way Naṉṉūl simplifies the explanation and statement. Because, Pavaṇanti avoids the repetition of the rules of TE 221, 254, 264, 282 and 295 in *uyirmayaṅkiyal* and 321, 323, 325, 353, 379 and 387 in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* under the specific endings. But from the psychological point of view of the students the repetitions found in Tolkāppiyam are welcome. The *sūtra* 183 is a general rule applicable to *uyiriṟṟuppuṇariyal* and *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal*.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.15 General exception. *Sūtra* 184 also is a general exception which provides for exceptional usages referring to *pōli*, *marūu*, Sanskrit words, *iṭaiccol* and *uriccol*.

1.5.7.2.7.3.5.16 Differences between *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl*. The differences between Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl may be summarised thus:-

(1) Naṉṉūl summarises in one *sūtra* all the connected rules and also for the principle of economy changes the order of the rules.

(2) Naṉṉūl omits certain archaic forms and less frequent forms though not uniformly.

(3) Naṉṉūl relegates all *cāriyais* to *urupupuṇariyal.*

(4) Naṉṉūl, because of the changed conditions of the language takes the forms more frequent in his age- eg. *ēḻu*, */a/* as a *cāriyai*. etc.

(5) Naṉṉūl does not deal with kuṟṟiyalukaram endings separately like Tolkāppiyar. Instead Pavaṇanti deals with them along with */u/* ending. (See next chapter)

(6) Pavaṇanti is not uniform in following his own scheme. According to his scheme he should not state the occurrence of *cāriyas* in *uyir* or *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.* But see in *sūtra* 130, 142, 147 etc.

Generally Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam as interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar in many places. Besides Naṉṉūl provides for changes which had occurred after Tolkāppiyar's age.

1.5.8 KURRIYALUKARA-P-PUṆARIYAL

1.5.8.1 *Tolkāppiyar's treatment*

1.5.8.1.1 **Definition and classification:** The last chapter of eḻuttatikāram is called *kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṇariyal.* The first four *sūtras* deal generally with the definition and classification of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* as already discussed. The fifth *sūtra* describes the change of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* into *kuṟṟiyalikaram* i. e. *-ɯ* [*y*– > *ϕi*]. The non-nominative nouns double their plosive in the last syllable and the initial plosive in the following word is also doubled[1]. But there are certain *kuṟṟiyalukaram* words which do not double[2]. All these refer to what is called *neṭiṟṟoṭar* and *uyirttoṭar kuṟṟiyalukaram*. *Iṭaittoṭar* and *āytattoṭar-k-kuṟṟiyalukaram* follow the no-change rule[3]. In *vaṉṟoṭar* and *meṉṟoṭar* the following plosive doubles whilst the nasal in the final syllable becomes a plosive[4].

1.5.8.1.1.2 **Words taking different** *cāriyais*: The plant names take the *cāriyai* /*am*/ and we have already referred to them and some of these according to Tolkāppiyar do not follow the rule of changing the nasal into the plosive

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1. TE *sūtra* 412; e. g. *yāṭɯ+kāl>yāṭṭɯ-k-kāl* "the leg of the sheep"
2. Ibid *sūtra* 413; e. g. *nākɯ+kāl>nākɯ kāl* "the leg of the female buffalo"
3. Ibid *sūtra* 414; e. g. *teḷkɯ+kāl>teḷkɯ kāl* "the leg of the flea" *eḵkɯ+kāl>eḵkɯkāl* "the rod of the weapon"
4. Ibid *sūtra* 415; e.g *kokkɯ+kāl>kokkɯ-k-kāl* "the leg of the crane"

and take up the /*akku*/ *cāriyai*[5]. But as already suggested this should be taken as originally taking the /*am*/ and losing the final /*m*/ according to 311 and getting the following plosive doubled. *vaṇṭu* "beetle" and *peṇṭu* "woman" get the /*in̲*/ *cāriyai* whilst *peṇṭu* may also get the /*an̲*/ *cāriyai*[6].

1.5.8.1.1.3 Non-nominative nouns: As usual Tolkāppiyar refers to certain words, which follow the rule prescribed for them when taking the case signs. The numerals ending in [-*ɯ*] take the *cāriyai* /*an̲*/[7]. The interrogatives and the demonstratives follow the rule mentioned in 200 i. e. they take the *cāriyai* /*an̲*/[8]. Therefore the rules for non-nominative nouns had been given. There is an important rule about the *āyta-t-toṭar-k-kur̲r̲iyalukarams* amongst the demonstrative nouns[9]; if they are nominatives the *āytam* disappears when the next word begins with a consonant[10]; If a vowel follows, the *āytam* will remain[11].

1.5.8.1.1.31 Other non-nominatives: From here onwards words other than the non-nominatives are discussed. In the case of nominatives, as usual, there is no change, But there is one exception in the case of *van̲r̲oṭar* where the following plosive doubles[12]. *men̲r̲oṭar* words with the

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5. Ibid *sūtras* 416, 417, 418 and 419.
6. Ibid *sūtras* 421 and 422
7. Ibid *sūtra* 420
8. }
9. } Ibid *sūtra* 423
10. Ibid *sūtra* 425
11. Ibid *sūtra* 424
12. Ibid *sūtra* 427

lengthened demonstrative bases viz., /ā/, /i/ and /ū/ and the interrogative base /yā/ also double the following plosive[13]. The only words known are āṅku, īṅku, ūṅku and yāṅku. But the word yāṅku because it may enjoy a pause after it as an interrogative word perhaps continues in the old usage still persisting in following the rule of no change[14]. However on the analogy of the demonstrative words it becomes an attribute or modifier of a verb and therefore begins to follow the rule of change as well. These also do not get their nasals changed into plosives[15].

1.5.8.1.1.32 *uṇṭu*: The word *uṇṭu* which asserts existence has the alternant form /uḷ/. This is a predicate word and therefore having a pause after it, does not double the plosive following it.[16] This corresponds to *sūtra* 373 which deals with negative predicate *il*. The way in which the rule is stated reminds us of the rule about *toḷḷāyiram*.

1.5.8.1.1.33 **Sentence and constructions**: The two *sūtras* 431 and 373 are important from a historical point of view. It has been suggested that to start with the Dravidian sentences were substantive in nature. The root itself may come as a verbal noun. Here we find that the roots *uḷ* and *iḷ* occur as finite predicates though there are subsequently formed alternants *uṇṭu*, *illai* etc. This, to certain extent explains the riddle about the *viṉai-t-tokai* forms which we had already referred to, because there occurs a pause in that compound preventing thereby the operation of any rule of *sandhi* change. If *uḷ* and *il* can be predicates, the first part

13. Ibid *sūtra* 428
14. Ibid *sūtra* 429
15. Ibid *sūtra* 430
16. Ibid *sūtra* 431

of the compound in *viṉai-t-tokai* can be taken to have been once upon a time a predicate. Predicate and the subject later on developed into appositional constructions and finally become attributive constructions.

1.5.8.1.1.4 WORDS DENOTING POINTS OF COMPASS.

The words denoting the points of compass end in [-*ɯ*] and are kuṟṟiyalukaram words. When the names of two directions came together, in between comes /*ē*/.[17] This /*ē*/ is probably the conjunctive /*ē*/ in origin. If such compounds denote not the four major directions but the angles of directions in between them the first word will be either *vaṭakku* "north" or *teṟku* "south", the second word will be either *kiḻakku* "east" *mēṟku* "west". In these cases the final syllable is lost in the first word; in *teṟku* "south" the plosive preced' ing the final syllable becomes /*ṉ*/ whilst in *vaṭakku* "north'- it is lost.[18]

1.5.8.1.1.5 NUMERALS

Then follow the rules about the numerals. All of which except those mentioned in *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* are kuṟṟiyalukaram words.

The last subject to be dealt with under this chapter is the combination of numerals with numerals and other words. In this discussion, the methodology differs violently from that followed for the description of the *sandhi* rules given till now. When two words combine together the changes have all been given in one *sūtra*. But when coming to the numerals the changes in relation to one *sandhi* have to be described in a

17. Ibid *sūtra* 432
18. Ibid *sūtra* 433

number of *sūtras*. This reminds one of *tokaimarapu* but even there the changes are not discussed piecemeal as here. For instance, the numerals 'one' to 'nine' are taken up for explaining their changes when followed by *pattu* 'ten'. It is first stated that the final syllable of all these numerals consisting of a consonant and a shorter /u/ disappears[19]. In relation to this then follow a number of *sūtras* referring to each one of the numbers 'one' to 'nine' when they came before the word *pattu*, thus changed[20]. The same scheme is followed when numerals are followed by words denoting measures and weights and these are said to follow the rules already laid down;[21] and the subsequent *sūtras* give the changes in the numerals wherever such changes differ from what has already been stated. These are treated separately according to whether the following word begins with a plosive or otherwise. The *sūtras* about the numerals have already been explained and hence not repeated.

Sūtras 460 describes the behaviour of the numerals when followed by *nūṟu* 'hundred'. These are said to follow the general rule. The subsequent *sūtras* give exceptions to this general rule.[22]

Sūtra 464 and the following *sūtras* give the behaviour of numerals when followed by *āyiram* 'thousand'. It is curious that there is no general rule as in the case of hundred, weights etc., Perhaps there was a line after the first line of *sūtra* 464 prescribing the linkage like the second line of *sūtra* 446

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19. Ibid *sūtra* 434
20. Ibid *sūtras* 438, 439, 440 etc.
21. Ibid *sūtras* 446, 474.
22. Ibid *sūtras* 461, 462, 463.

kiḷanta-v-iyala tōṉṟuṅkālai. In that case the present second line in *sūtra* 464 should form a separate *sūtra* which begins to explain the exceptions.

When *nūṟāyiram* 'hundred thousands' follows the numerals it behaves like *nūṟu*[23]. If *nūṟu* is followed by the numerals 'one' to 'nine' the alveolar plosive of the word *nūṟu* doubles[24]. The same thing happens when *nūṟu* 'hundred' is followed by numerals denoting the 'tens'[25]. When *nūṟu* is followed by measures and weights, it follows the same rule[26].

Numerals denoting 'tens' such as *orupatu* and *irupatu* are next taken up for discussion, when followed by numerals 'one' to 'nine'. The original form of modern *pattu* is *pa°₀tu* and this becomes *pattu* in these combinations i.e. the āytam disappears and a plosive comes in[27] because they [/*tt*/ and /°₀*t*/] are alternate forms. No other change is mentioned If after these terms *ayiram* occurs, the augment /*iṉ*/ comes in after the disappearance of the *āyiram* but without the coming in of a plosive in the place of āytam[28]. The same rule applies when 'tens' are followed by words denoting measures and weights[29].

This discussion closes with three *sūtras*. The first deals with numerals when followed by other words beginning with plosives, semi-vowels or nasals and states that these will

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23. Ibid *sūtra* 471
24. Ibid *sūtra* 472
25. Ibid *sūtra* 473
26. Ibid *sūtra* 474
27. Ibid *sūtra* 475
28. Ibid *sūtra* 476
29. Ibid *sūtra* 477

follow the optional rule of *o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u* becoming *oru*[30]. The second *sūtra* deals with cases where the following word begins in a vowel[31].

Here *oru* becomes *ōr* i.e. the initial vowel is lengthened and the final /*u*/ is lost. This is part of a general rule that a closed long monosyllabic form occurs before a word beginning with a consonant and that an open short disyllabic form occurs before a word beginning with a vowel. The numerals 'two' to 'nine' preceding the word *mā* follow the rule stated in 446 when /*m*/ is the following consonant[32].

1.5.8.1.1.6 The *cāriyais um, ke<u>l</u>u* etc.: Then follows a *sūtra* which prescribes the *cāriyais* /*um*/ /*ke<u>l</u>u*/ etc., coming after non-nominative nouns ending in /*l*/ and /*ḻ*/[33]. As this rule does not refer to ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalukaram it is either an interpolation or a *sūtra* wrongly placed here.

1.5.8.1.1.7 **Certain linguistic units**: Then follows a *sūtra* which explains that certain linguistic units though seemingly consisting of separable parts could not be explained in *sandhi* discussed so far[34]. The first category consists of the roots in a derivative word; and the second and third consists of *paṇputtokai* and *vi<u>n</u>ai-t-tokai*. The fourth category consists of reduplication of numerals which occur as distributive numerals. It is doutful whether it is a genuine *sūtra* of Tolkāppiyam. *paṇpu-t-tokai* is suggested to be a combination of not of an abstract noun root and a noun but a derived

30. Ibid *sūtra* 478
31. Ibid *sūtra* 479
32. Ibid *sūtra* 480
33. Ibid *sūtra* 481
34. Ibid *sūtra* 482

finite form of the noun showing gender and number coming with another noun but which has lost its suffix. Some of the phrases resemble some of the *sūtras* from Tolkāppiyam collatikāram. But even then, it cannot be said that Tolkāppiyam is of this view. But this question is not relevant for our study.

The last *sūtra* gives us the exception. "In poetry and in colloquial usage there may be forms different from those explained above; but those who understand the usage should search for the cause and explain them accordingly"[35]. In view of this it is for consideration whether the *sūtra* 406 at the end of *puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* may not be completely omitted. But that refers to the application of enumerated rules to other places whilst this refers to rules which are not followed in certain usages and where different rules have to be inferred and applied on the basis of well established usage found as such by men of intellect.

1.5.8.2 SCHEME OF *Nannūl*: As already stated Pavaṇanti generalises that "the plosives following a word which ends in a vowel whether in the basic form or in the alternant form will get the following plosive doubled except in many of the cases not specifically mentioned." Therefore what remains for Pavaṇanti to say is only about the exceptions to this general rule. There is one other statement to be made. It was suggested that Tolkāppiyar meant only nominative nouns by the terms *alvaḻi* and all other nouns which are non-nominative and non-vocative by the term *veṟṟumai*. But in Nannūl following Iḷampūraṇar and others the term *alvaḻi* was interpreted to refer to all kinds of words except the *vēṟṟumai* nouns.

35. Ibid *sūtra* 483

Though the term *vēṟṟumai* remained as of old. Interpreted this way the pause which occurred in a majority of cases after the *alvaḻi* according to Tolkāppiyar becomes of no importance. For instance what is called *paṇpu-t-tokai* or attributive compounds have no pause in between the two constituents and therefore ordinarily the plosive doubles. The conception of *vēṟṟumai* and *alvaḻi* as developed by Pavaṇanti will not bring out the basic principles.

Naṉṉūl instead of having a separate chapter like *kuṟṟiya-lukara-p-puṇariyal* includes kuṟṟiyalukaram in *uyiriṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* as a variety of /*u*/ ending[36].

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36. For a detailed comparison see the chapter on *uyirmayaṅkiyal*.

1.6 COMMENTARY OF IḶAMPŪRAṆAR AND NAṈṈŪL

1.6.1 AGE OF *Iḷampūraṇar*.

Iḷampūraṇar is the author of the earliest commentary on Tolkāppiyam now available. He is held in great veneration by the other commentators like Cēṉāvaraiyar, Pēr̄āciriyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar who refer to him. Yāpparuṅkala virutti does not refer to him, nor does Iḷampūraṇar refer to Yāpparuṅkalam. But Iḷampūraṇar is silent about the views in Yāpparuṅkalam whilst he refers to the views of Kākkai-pāṭiṉiyār and others. This may mean that either those views had not become popular or well known among the world of scholars or the original nucleus of this commentary was anterior to Yāpparuṅkalam of the tenth century. Certain resemblances between Iḷampūraṇar's commentary and the commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār akapporuḷ and the commentary on Tirukkuṟaḷ by Maṇakkuṭavar have been pointed out. He probably quotes from one early author of Patiṉōrāntirumuṟai "the eleventh Saivite canonical work". He may be older than the twelfth or eleventh century. There are quotations from the illustrative verses given in Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram of the twelfth century. But that illustrative verse may not be an original composition of the Tamil Taṇṭi but an old verse quoted by him.

1.6.2 AIM OF THE STUDY OF *Iḷampūraṇar's* COMMENTARY.

It is the aim of this chapter to explain Iḷampūraṇar's views collected from his commentary on *eḻuttatikāram* as far as they are relevant to our studies so as to bring out

Naṉṉūl's dependence on Iḷampūraṇar. Some of these have already been explained when discussing the relation between Naṉṉūl and Tolkāppiyam.

1.6.3 TWO WAYS OF PURSUING THE STUDY OF PHONOLOGY.

There is the question of the way in which the phonology was studied. In Iḷampūraṇar's time there were two ways of pursuing this study and in an eclectic mood Iḷampūraṇar combines them both.[1] This study from one point of view is pursued under eight topics viz., the number of sounds or letters, the names, their arrangement or order, their quantity, their phonetic articulation, *sandhi*, their shape and nature. The shape or form and nature relate to the sounds and probably to the mystic aspect. Because the sounds are said to be long and short Iḷampūraṇar concludes some have a form, perhaps something like the wave forms.[2] The nature must be something mystic. Therefore these two are not easily to be explained for an ordinary man from the objective point of view and the other six alone can be discussed in any work on phonology. If we compare to the statement in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 2 we have the six. But there is also another six of which *uruvam* does not refer to the shape of the sound mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar. But that refers to the written form of the letter, the written form which even Tolkāppiyam describes at least with reference to the consonants,[3] the syllabic letters[4] and /m/.[5] In the later times *eḻuttu* came to represent the written

1. See TE p. 6.
2. See under TE *sūtra* 20.
3. TE *sūtra* 15.
4. Ibid *sūtra* 17.
5. Ibid *sūtra* 14.

form though even Nannūl does not forget eḻuttu in phonology is primarily the sound. Therefore the statement of Iḷampūraṇar that letters may be divided into the important and unimportant variety or (we may put it into) primary and secondary varieties, brings the written form under the latter category. But under this category he has really two divisions, (1) the derived or compound sounds like *aḷapeṭai* and *uyirmey* and (2) the written letters. It is because of this latter division that Nannūl speaks of the form.

From another point of view the topics of phonological study were more than eight. Iḷampūraṇar enumerates sixteen topics. He does not however explain them. But Naccinārk-kiniyar explains and illustrates them. This explanation is dealt with in a thesis of the Annamalai University.[6]

The study of phonology is, from another point of view of the *sūtras* in such a work, becomes a study of what is called *karuvi* and *ceykai*, "the means" and "the end".[7] The end according to one view is the explanation of the *sandhi* changes, the changes in the point of view of phonology occurring when words and morphs come together. From this point of view *sandhi* is the actual activity and all the rest, such as the enumeration of the various sounds, the articulation, the conception of words are merely the instruments which we have to learn and master towards that activity. Further divisions in internal and external means and ends are also pointed out. But they need not be gone into, for, Nannūl does not specifically refer to those minute divisions.

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6. S. V. Shanmugham, *Naccinārkkiniyar's conception of phonology*, (1967) pp. 4 to 16.

7. See TE p. 6.

But as far as the major division into *karuvi* and *ceykai* is concerned it has to be considered in a study of Naṉṉūl for an interesting reason. There are, in modern editions of Naṉṉūl, some 55 *sūtras* prefixed to Naṉṉūl. These introductory portions consist of quotations from Tolkāppiyam, Iṟaiyaṉār akapporuḷ urai, Yāpparuṅkala virutti etc. But even the rest do not seem to be from the author of Naṉṉūl. In writing a commentary especially on *Ciṟappu-p -pāyiram*, the commentators quote such *sūtras* like these. Mayilainātar, the earliest commentator on Naṉṉūl, must be taken to have given these quotations from other works, as being relevant to a study of Naṉṉūl. He speaks of the *sūtras* in any work either giving (1) a total view of the subject or (2) a major analysis or (3) a detailed analysis or (4) names and definitions or (5) the phonological combination of morphs or the syntactic combination of words and forms or (6) the exceptions there.[8] The last two will come under *ceykai* while the rest will come under *karuvi*. Perhaps this distinction made in Mayilainātar's introductory commentary is much more nearer to Naṉṉūl. The introductory verse to Naṉṉūl speaks of *tokai, vakai* and *viri* "the major grouping", "the major analysis" and "the detailed analysis" respectively. Iḷampūraṇar enumerates nine kinds, viz., *tokaiyuḷ tokai, tokaiyuḷ vakai, tokaiyuḷ viri* which form three kinds of hierarchies in this major grouping and *vakaiyuḷ tokai, vakaiyuḷ vakai* and *vakaiyuḷ viri* which form three hierarchies of the lower level of major analysis and lastly *viriyuḷ tokai, viriyuḷ vakai* and *viriyuḷ viri* which form three hierarchies at the lowest level of the detailed analysis and enumeration.[9]

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8. See Naṉṉūl, Mayilainātar's commentary p. 7.

9. Ibid

1.6.4 HIS VIEW ON *Cārpeḻuttu.*

The discussion of *cārpeḻuttu* will have to be postponed to a later stage. But there is one remark of Iḷampūraṇar where he compares the shortening of the short /u/ and the short /i/ to the shortening of a sandal wood. Such a shortening does not alter the real nature of the sandal wood. So also the shorter /i/ and the shorter /u/ according to Iḷampūraṇar do not cease to be vowels.[10] This might have induced Naṉṉūl to discuss *kuṟṟiyulukaram sandhi* within *uyiriṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.* But Iḷampūraṇar points out that there is a difference in the *sandhi* rules with reference to the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* endings. Therefore Iḷampūraṇar justifies impliedly the separate treatment of the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* in *kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṇariyal.* Naṉṉūl also separately deals with *kuṟṟiyalukaram* though within the *uyiriṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* itself and immediately following the treatment of *muṟṟiyalukaram.* Iḷampūraṇar also states that there is a difference in meaning and therefore there is a contrast between *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *muṟṟiyalukaram.*[11] In his commentary, however, he has not given us any example for this contrast as far as Naccinārkkiniyar does.[12] In some places the word *poruḷ* is interpreted as the environment or the consonantal support or the consonant to which the vowel is attached.[13] He however gives an example for contrast where *poruḷ* is interpreted as "meaning" - *nāku* "female buffalo" and *naku* "to laugh". But here the contrast is not only between *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *muṟṟiyalukaram* but also between the long and short vowels of the first syllable.

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10. Ibid p. 8
11. Ibid
12. See TE, Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary, p. 92.
13. See under TE 68.

1.6.5 HIS VIEW ON EXTRA-LONG SOUND.

Iḷampūraṇar following Tolkāppiyam does not admit any natural speech sound of more than three *māttirais*. He admits that when two different sounds come together then one may have three *māttirais*.[14] As already pointed out the vowel clustering is something natural in the language of Tolkāppiyam. Probably because this was not realised, Iḷampūraṇar is evidently confusing the later stage in the language when there were no vowel clusters with what was in the age of Tolkāppiyam. The wording *vikāramākiya* is not however clear. Even in the later ages people provide for some *iyalpu aḷapeṭai* and *ceyaṟkai aḷapeṭai*. Probably Iḷampūraṇar is thinking of metrical exigencies as opposed to natural speech. Naṉṉūl also speaks of *icai keṭiṉ*, following "*nīṭṭam vēṇṭiṉ*" of Tolkāppiyam.

The question raised by Iḷampūraṇar is as to why *uyiraḷapeṭai* is not included under the combinatory variants or *cārpeḻuttus* even though they are also defined in terms of environment in a word in Tolkāppiyam.[15] His explanation is that as in many cases, the *aḷapeṭai* appears as one sound word.[16] It would not be followed by a combinatory variant. When it is not a word it is treated as two different sounds. It is true that it occurs in words which are not monosyllabic in a few cases. But even there it is not the environment that brings in the alteration, if any. Perhaps he feels the change, if any, is due to the metrical exigency.

14. Under TE 5; see his statement "*vikāramākiya iraṇṭu kūṭiyataṟku uṇṭu*"
15. TE *sūtra* 41
16. See under TE 41.

1.6.6 DEFINITION OF *māttirai* :

With reference to the definition of the *māttirai* Naṉṉūl adds that the winking should be natural i.e. as an involuntary action. This is because of Iḷampūraṇar's statement that *imai* is mentioned first in Tolkāppiyam since it is an involuntary action. The snapping of the finger is also though not an involuntary act coming natural in the above said situations. Then only that can be a correct measurement. If one has to purposely prolongate the snapping it will not be a correct measurement of the *māttirai*. Therefore Naṉṉūl qualifies both *imai* and *noṭi* with the phrase *iyalpeḻu*.[17] Here *iyalpu* should be taken to mean the natural situation.

As already stated Tolkāppiyam does not definitely state that in a syllable the consonant loses its half *māttirai*. Iḷampūraṇar interprets the word *iyal* for instance in *sūtra* 10 as generally referring to *māttirai* though he admits that it can mean other things. He therefore relies also on other kinds of interpretative rules. The syllabic letter is called *uyirmey* but in *sūtra* 10 it is said that the vowel mixes with the consonant. Iḷampūraṇar relies upon this peculiar way of stating this rule and infers, that it is because of the syllabic letter which has merely the *māttirai* of the vowel therein.[18] Of course other authors, as already discussed, also pointed out that the syllable has only the *māttirai* of the vowel therein. The phrase *avvuyiriṉ māttiraiyē itaṟku māttirai* of Iḷampūraṇar might have suggested the phrase *uyiraḷavāy* in Naṉṉūl 34.

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17. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 45
18. See under TE 10;
    "*avvuyiriṉ māttiraiyē itaṟku māttiraiyāka-k-kūṟukiṉṟamai nōkki-p-pōlum*"

1.6.7 ABOUT *uyirmey*.

In the *sandhi* rules the syllabic letter is considered as consisting of the consonant and then the vowel. *Sūtra* 107 in Tolkāppiyam mentions that the syllabic *uyirmey* is to be taken as a vowel ending. But that *sūtra* is silent about the consonant in the syllable. With reference to the pronunciation of the syllabic *uyirmey*, *sūtra* 18 makes this clear. Applying that *sūtra* Iḷampūraṇar adds that if the syllabic letters are divided or the consonants and vowels are brought together, the same rule should be applied. It is this statement[19] under *sūtra* 18 that is responsible for Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 54.[20]

1.6.8 SOME IDEAS OF *Iḷampūraṇar* OMITTED BY *Naṉṉūl*.

Because Naṉṉūl deals with the grammatical rules and not with the meaning of the technical terms nor with the explanations of the order in which *valleḻuttu*, *melleḻuttu* and *iṭaiyeḻuttu* are mentioned, it does not refer to such explanations given by Iḷampūraṇar under TE *sūtras* 19 and 20. So also the various changes which occur in the form of *uyireḻuttu* are not described except to the extent mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. Here also Iḷampūraṇar's explanations[21] are omitted. Further Iḷampūraṇar's statements such as *vilaṅku peṟṟuyirttal* do not make any clear sense.

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19. "*uyirmeykaḷai-p-pirikkum iṭattum kūṭṭum*
iṭattum avvāṟē
muṉṉum piṉṉum ātalai-k-koḷka"

20. "*niṉṟa neṟiyē uyirmey mutal īṟē*"

21. See under TE 17.

1.6.9 CLUSTERING.

1.6.9.1 Consonants: While discussing the clustering of consonants, Iḷampūraṇar points out that the clustering of sounds viz., vowels, consonants and syllabic letters could all be discussed. But since the consonantal clusters alone have certain restrictions whilst other kind of clusters do not have any such restriction only the consonantal clusters are mentioned.[22] "*uyirmey mayakkaḷavinṟē*" in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 55 reminds us of this (Iḷampūraṇar's) statement. "*uyirmey mayakku*" must be interpreted as the clustering of vowels with consonants and clustering of syllabic letters with syllabic letters. The clustering of vowels with consonants may mean C+V or V+C. Evidently Naṉṉūl following Iḷampūraṇar does not contemplate, a consonant clustering with a syllabic letter, perhaps Naṉṉūl does not think of the clustering of letters, because it uniformly resolves the *uyirmey* into *uyir* and *mey* as stated by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.[23] Therefore Mayilainātar may not be correct in interpreting the phrase *uyirmey* as referring to the clustering of the syllabic letters.[24] In any case the statement *uyirmey mayakku aḷavinṟē* is inspired by Iḷampūraṇar's commentary.

1.6.92 Clustering inside a word: There is another interesting discussion on the question whether these clusters are to be found inside a word only or should be applicable to phrases where two words come together. Iḷampūraṇar is

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22. "....*maṟṟavaṟṟiṟku varaiyaṟai-y-iṉmaiyiṉ*
varaiyaṟaiyuṭaiya
taṉimey mayakkamē kūṟiyoḻintār eṉa uṇarka"

23. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 54

24. Ibid 55

of the view that these clusterings are with reference to individual word and *sandhi*. Because according to him all the *sandhi* rules in a way follow the nature of the clustering of the language.[25] Naccinārkkiniyar however holds that the clustering is applicable only to individual words.[26] The statement in Nannūl 55 that this clustering takes place within a word, may at first suggest that Nannūl seems to anticipate Naccinārkkiniyar. But when Nannūl defines a word it includes thereunder, *orumoḻi* 'individual words', *toṭarmoḻi* 'compounds and phrases' and *potumoḻi* which can be both *orumoḻi* and *toṭar moḻi*.[27] *toṭarmoḻi* has a different significance in Tolkāppiyam and therefore Iḷampūraṇar uses the term *puṇarmoḻi* to avoid confusion.

1 6 9 3 **The term** *uṭanilai*: The clustering is divided into *uṭanilai* and *vēṟṟunilai*. This term *uṭanilai* which is found in Nannūl *sūtra* 55 and also in 63 is also from Iḷampūraṇar's commentary[28] on Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 30.

1.6 10 FINAL SOUNDS.

1.6.10.1 *kuṟṟiyalukaram*: In TE *sūtra* 69 which enumerates the final sounds there is no specific mention of *kuṟṟiyalukaram*. But there is the specific mention of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* occurring in the initial syllable in the word

25. See under TE 23; "*meymayakkam orumoḻikkum puṇarmoḻikkum potuvākaliṉ mēṟkūṟum puṇar moḻi-c-ceykai-y-ellām talaiyāya aṟiviṉōrai nōkka oruvāṟ-ṟāṟ kūṟiyavāṟāyiṟṟu*"
26. See under TE 22.
27. Nannūl *sūtra* 205
28. "...*tammuṟṟāmvarum eṉṟatu meymmuṉṉar meyyeṉṉum māttiraiyaṉṟi uṭanilai mey mēlatām eṉpatu koḷka*"

nuntai "your father".[29] Iḷampūraṇar gets over this difficulty by pointing out that the *sūtra* 36 itself in Tolkāppiyam defining the environment in which this *kuṟṟiyalukaram* can occur, makes it clear that *kuṟṟiyalukaram* occurs only in the final position. Therefore there is no necessity to repeat it again. No such reference is made to the occurrence of the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* in the initial syllable and that is why it has to be stated separately. With reference to all these they differ from their *mutal eḻuttu* because of their special environment. Therefore Iḷampūraṇar in every place points out the environment if it is a vowel and the consonantal support for the vowel. This distinction into *iṭam* and *paṟṟu-k-kōṭu* is not specifically made by Tolkāppiyar. But it can be inferred by his *sūtras*. Naṉṉūl in following Tolkāppiyam leaves that distinction, though found in Iḷampūraṇar, to the commentators on his own work.

1.6.10.2 */e/*, */o/* **and** */au/* **endings:** When monosyllabic words are referred to under Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 44, Iḷampūraṇar has taken into consideration the five short vowels especially the interrogative and demonstrative bases as forming words by themselves. Tolkāppiyar's omission to mention them is explained, of being due to his scheme of laying down no rules for *iṭaiccol*.

The rules for */e/* and */o/* are really for words where these come as enclitics. Naṉṉūl also omits them on the basis of Iḷampūraṇar. But Iḷampūraṇar points out that */tu/* and */no/* occur as monosyllabic words and again following Iḷampūraṇar, Naṉṉūl mentions these in *sūtra* 74. Iḷampūraṇar notes that there is an alternate form for */no/* viz., */nov/*. This will

29. TE *sūtra* 67

give another word ending in /*v*/; so also *kau* has the alternative form *kav* which will be the sixth word to end in /*v*/. But Pavaṇanti does not mention them though he considers *vau* as *vav* under 82. He mentions *kau* under 108. He gives the form *vau* under 53 aud 74 and also the form *vav* under 82.

1.6.11 ABOUT *pōli*

With reference to *sūtras* 54, 55, 56 and 58 in Tolkāppiyam, Iḷampūraṇar has said that the *pōli* should not be accepted. Naṉṉūl might have accepted this position, but it does not specify.

1.6.12 ABOUT /*ai*/ *kuṟukkam*.

TE *sutra* 57 deals with instances where /*ai*/ comes to have only one *māttirai*. Iḷampūraṇar adds that it would not suffer this reduction in the initial syllable, on the basis of the theories of prosody. But those theories sometimes provide that in the initial position /*ai*/ has one and a half *māttirais*. Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam.

1.6.13 ABOUT THE INITIAL SOUNDS.

In discussing the initial sounds Iḷampūraṇar has to take note of certain new developments which had taken place in the language such as colloquial forms and foreign borrowings such as *ñaliyiṟṟu* under *sūtra* 64 and *yavaṉar* "Greeks" under *sūtra* 65, though he does not admit them in the Tamil language of Tolkāppiyam. Naṉṉūl does not accept the colloquial or vulgar from, for instance, in its 70 but admits the Sanskrit borrowing in 49. Similarly Iḷampūraṇar points out certain usages about the initial occurrence etc., being no

more in force[30]. Naṉṉūl takes note of these changes in usage and provides for the changed conditions as already discussed in our comparison of Tolkāppiyam with Naṉṉūl.

1.6.14 ABOUT THE WORD '*a°₀ṟiṇai*'.

The free alternation of /*m*/ and /*ṉ*/ in the final position is treated as *pōli* in Naṉṉūl 67. Tolkāppiyam mentions these belong to *a.:ṟiṇai* and Iḷampūraṇar interprets it meaning *a°₀ṟiṇai* nouns and therefore Naṉṉūl specifically refers to *a.:ṟiṇai-p-peyar* "nouns belonging to the inferior category".

1.6.15 ARTICULATION

1.6.15.1 **About places:** Coming to the phonetic articulation of sounds Naṉṉūl mentions *iṭam* where Tolkāppiyar and Iḷampūraṇar will speak of *miṭaṟṟu vaḷi* etc. Tolkāppiyar is silent about the semi-vowels other than /*y*/. But Iḷampūraṇar specifically states *miṭaṟṟuvaḷi*[31] for all of them and Naṉṉūl follows Iḷampūraṇar.[32] It is again Iḷampūraṇar who mentions *talai vaḷi* for *āytam* under Tolkāppiyam 101. Naṉṉūl follows this in 32.

1.6.15.2 **Difference between articulators and place of articulation:** Iḷampūraṇar differentiates between the articulators coming into contact with places of articulation- "*uṟuppuṟal*" as mentioned in 83. But it is also necessary that the correct shape of the vocal organ sufficient to produce the respective sounds should be emphasised; according to Iḷampūraṇar this is the meaning of the term "*meyyuṟa*" found in TE 93. Naṉṉūl does not emphasise all these distinctions.

30. See under TE 73, 74, etc.
31. See under TE 100; '*iṭaiyeḻuttiṟku miṭaṟṟu vaḷiyum....*'
32. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 20

1.6.15.3 Interpretation of "*tannilai tiriyā*": Iḷampūraṇar also notes that the vowels described here are true to their description". This is the force of the phrase '*tannilai tiriyā*' according to Iḷampūraṇar. This itself implies according to Iḷampūraṇar that the shorter /*u*/ and the shorter /*i*/ do undergo a change from the description here given.[33] He elsewhere points out though not specifically, that *muṟṟiyalukaram* is a fully rounded /*u*/ and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* is unrounded[34]. Naṉṉūl does not give this distinction.

1.6.15.4 About labials: In describing the articulation of certain sounds Iḷampūraṇar is much more specific than Tolkāppiyam. With reference to the labials Iḷampūraṇar speaks of the lower lip and the upper lip coming together. This is accepted by Naṉṉūl in 26.

1.6.15.5 Articulation of /*y*/: The articulation of /*y*/ is not clear in Tolkāppiyam. But Iḷampūraṇar mentions the palate and the tongue. Naṉṉūl follows Iḷampūraṇar in 82, but unfortunately in making it more specific as *aṭinā* "the back of the tongue" and *aṭiyaṇam* "the back of the palate", he has gone wrong. But in the case of the labiodentals he does not follow Iḷampūraṇar fully. He accepts the explanation of Iḷampūraṇar that the teeth is the upper teeth, but does not qualify the lip as the lower lip as done by Iḷampūraṇar perhaps because of the metrical exigencies.

1.6.15.6 Articulation of *cārpeḻuttu*: With reference to the *cārpeḻuttu* Iḷampūraṇar has said that they follow their *mutal eḻuttu* except *āytam*. He points out that this is true even of *aḷapeṭai* and *uyirmey*. Of course he does not use the

33. See under TE 84

34. See under TE 68

word *mutal*, but uses the word *aṭi* "the basis". Naṉṉūl recognises all these also as *carpeḻuttu*. He generalises "*cārpeḻuttēṉavum tammutalaṉaiya*".[35]

1.6.15.7 Change in intonation like *eṭuttal*, *paṭuttal* **etc:** Iḷampūraṇar under 103 points out that Tolkāppiyam explains articulation with reference to sounds which will combine to make up meaningful words and not for sounds produced in straining etc. This is the force of the phrase *mey teri* in Tolkāppiyam [*mey*=meaning]. Naṉṉūl has no such remark to exclude other non-speech sounds because he has defined *eḻuttu* in *sūtra* 3 as those sounds which go to make up words. Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl explain the articulation by grouping certain sounds. Naturally there must be differences between the articulation of one sound to another in these in any group. This is provided by the *sūtra* 88 in Tolkāppiyam. This is a smaller difference not to be compared with the change between, for instance, the *muṟṟiyalukaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram*. Iḷampūraṇar adds under his commentary on 53 that the change in intonation like *eṭuttal* and *paṭuttal* will not change these sounds. Naṉṉūl has to explain also that in the description of the articulation of the groups of sounds there is some difference between some sounds and other. He seems to be thinking of these changes in terms of mere intonation or differences in the efforts made. In addition to *eṭuttal* and *paṭuttal* he mentions *nalital*.[36] Does he mean that the difference between the long vowel and the short vowel is one of *eṭuttal* and *paṭuttal* and the difference between the plosives and nasals is one of *eṭuttal* and *nalital*? Perhaps /*ai*/ and /*au*/ will have to be

35. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 32; "all *cārpeḻuttus* are like their primary sounds."

36. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 33

differentiated from other vowels as cases of *nalital*. Are /r/ and /ḻ/ to be differentiated as *eṭuttal* and *paṭuttal*? Unfortunately these terms are so often used without any clear definitions, though often people will translate them in terms of pitch accent.

1.6.16 *Sandhi*:

1.6.16.1 Sandhi within a word: Tolkāppiyar as already stated does not consider the *sandhi* within an individual word. However he takes the case signs and the *cāriyais* as independent words and lays down rules for their *sandhi*. In his consideration of what we equated with immediate constituents, he takes perhaps, as one unit as consisting of the head and the attribute. Unfortunately Iḷampūraṉar cannot look upon the case sign as an attribute or head. In the later age the noun was considered to form one word with its case sign. Therefore he accepts this explanation.[37] Naṉṉūl has no such diffculty because it does not deal with what may be called the immediate constituents and because it deals also with internal *sandhi*[38]. The *marūu* or telescoped words except those which look like, where the words have mutually changed are called *Ilakkaṇattoṭu poruntiya marūu* which are referred to in Tolkāppiyam 356 and where the words could be recognised as against the other kinds of *marūu* where the words cannot be so recognised are not taken up for *sandhi* by Tolkāppiyar[39]. But later usage follows a different rule. Iḷampūraṇar brings them under

37. "*viḷaviṉai-k-kuṟaittāṉ eṉpatu avvurupu kuṟittuvaru kiḷaviyai nilaimoḻiyuḷ aṭakki irumoḻi-p-puṇarcciyāy niṉṟavāṟu aṟika.*"

38. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 199

39. TE *sūtra* 482

exception[40]. *Iṭai* and *uri* are not separately dealt with since only nouns and verbs are undergoing *sandhi*. Because *iṭai* and *uri* are considered as part of nouns and verbs by Tolkāppiyar as stated by Iḷampūraṇar under TE 109. But Naṉṉūl is not bound by these restrictions. But since Pavaṇanti is more or less copying Tolkāppiyam *sūtras*, he has no time to lay down specific rules. Therefore following Iḷampūraṇar but in a much more extended way generally he refers to all these viz., *iṭai*, *uri*, foreign borrowings, *pōli* and *marūu* as coming under the rule of exception.[41] All those considerations which arise in Tolkāppiyam such as whether the compounds are to be treated as two words or one etc., do not arise in Naṉṉūl and therefore the statements made by Iḷampūranar under TE 109, 111, 112 relating to these have no value for Naṉṉūl.

1.6.16.2 Varieties of changes in sandhi: The varieties of changes in *sandhi* have been enumerated. But the question how many of them can occur simultaneously in the *sandhi* will be of greater interest to the later age which was very much interested in numbers. The possibility of occurring one of them is clear. Any two of them or any three of them according to Iḷampūraṇar can simultaneouly occur.[42] This is the basis of Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 102.

1.6.16.3 About "*urupu puṇarcci*" : The four kinds of *sandhi* rules (no change; change, disappearance, coming in of a sound) are specifically applied to *urupu puṇariyal*. Tolkāppiyam mentions only the doubling. Therefore Iḷampūraṇar states that because of this specific reference, other kinds of changes

40. See under TE *sūtra* 112.
41. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 184
42. "*oru puṇarccikku-t-tiripu mūṉṟaṉuḷ oṉṟāyiṉum iraṇṭ-āyiṉum mūṉṟāyiṉum varapperum eṉa-k-koḷka*"

also should be be considered under "*urupu puṇarcci*". Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 187 following Iḷampūraṇar applies the kinds of changes coming in *vēṟṟumai-p-puṇarcci* to *urupu puṇarcci* as well. Naṉṉūl does not however mention *iyalpu* as in *avaṉkaṇ* "with him" etc., as pointed out by Iḷampūraṇar[43]. Iḷampūraṇar considers the glide, the doubling of the consonant after a short syllable and when followed by a vowel are not really changes. He looks upon them as *karuvi-t-tiripu*. As already stated Naṉṉūl does not follow these detailed distinctions and therefore there will be changes according to Naṉṉūl.

When after the oblique pronominal forms in the form of closed short syllables the fourth and sixth case signs are added. Tolkāppiyar lays down an /*a*/ after the inflected form[44]. In the case of the sixth case sign he provides for the /*a*/ of the genitive to be lost.[45] We have suggested a reason for this. But Iḷampūraṇar points out that instead of laying down the coming in of the *cāriyai* /*a*/ and its loss, one may state that there was no *cāriyai* to start with when the genitive case sign followed. It is this later suggestion that Naṉṉūl accepts in 192. Iḷampūraṇar suggests a reason for Tolkāppiyar speaking of the loss of the initial /*a*/ of the genitive case sign. Since *nam* etc., are shortened forms, Tolkāppiyam did not want the *cāriyai* to be added to such forms. The rational of this suggestion is not clear and probably Naṉṉūl does not accept this suggestion.

Tolkāppiyar in spite of his stating that the *urupu* comes after the noun in *vēṟṟumai* has to state the same thing in 117 for otherwise because of all *sandhi* being resolved into either

43. See under TE 115
44. TE *sutra* 162
45. Ibid 116

alvaḻi or *vēṟṟumai*, a confusion may arise that the case sign may come after the verb. For the same reason Naṉṉūl gives 186 in spite of *sūtra* 291.

1.6.16.4. Other *cāriyais* noted down by *Iḷampūraṇar*; Tolkāppiyam does not mention certain *cāriyais* in its enumeration but elsewhere it makes use of them. Iḷampūraṇar states the following *cāriyais*: /*tam*/, /*nam*/, /*num*/, /*em*/ /*keḻu*/, /*ē*/, /*ai*/, /*ñāṉṟu*/[46]. Here /*em*/ must be a mistake for /*um*/. Of these Naṉṉūl does not mention /*um*/, /*keḻu*/ and /*ñāṉṟu*/. /*um*/ might have gone out of usage; the other two must have been considered meaningful words. Naṉṉūl however adds /*aṟṟu*/, /*iṟṟu*/, /*a*/, /*ku*/ and /*ṉ*/.[47] Iḷampūraṇar considers /*iṟṟu*/ as the altered form of /*iṉ*/[48]. Naṉṉūl considers Tolkāppiyar's /*vaṟṟu*/ as /*aṟṟu*/; /*akku*/ as /*a*/. The /*ṉ*/ is considered by Tolkāppiyam as an alternation of /*iṉ*/.[49] But Naṉṉūl prefers to have /*ṉ*/ as different from /*iṉ*/ because /*ṉ*/ comes also as utterance final. /*ku*/ also is found in Caṅkam literature in forms like /*uykuvai*/[50]. /*u*/ is a later usage as in *Cāttaṉukku* "for *Cāttaṉ*". Of course the increment /*u*/ has been provided for many consonantal endings even in Tolkāppiyam.

Therefore all those explanations given by Iḷampūraṇar on the basis of Tolkāppiyar's *sūtras* have no value by the time of Naṉṉūl.

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46. See under TE 120
47. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 189
48. See under TE 122; "...*iṉṉiṉ ṉakaram ṟakaramātal koḷka*"
49. TE *sūtra* 121
50. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 300:2

1.6.16.5 *Iḷampūraṇar's* **view on** *alvaḻi* **and** *vēṟṟumai*: The distinction between *alvaḻi* and *vēṟṟumai* as first proposed by Tolkāppiyar has been explained elsewhere[51]. As already stated Iḷampūraṇar also asserts that *alvaḻi* generally means *eḻuvāy*[52]. But the question arises as to what happens to other kinds of constructions which Tolkāppiyar himself refers to in *sandhi* rules such as those enumerated in 204 etc. For the sake of consistency these terms *vēṟṟumai* and *alvaḻi* have been interpreted in a different way; *vēṟṟumai* as referring to both *tokai*[53] and *viri*[54] and *alvaḻi* to include all the rest. Iḷampūraṇar under *sūtra* 114 enumerates the following: *eḻuvāy*, "subject" *viḷi*, "vocative" *uvamattokai*[55], *ummaittokai*,[56] *paṇputtokai*,[57] *irupeyaroṭṭu p-paṇputtokai*,[58] *iruvakai eccam*, "relative and verbal participles" *iṭai* and *uri*. It is surprising that *viṉai-t-tokai*[59] and *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai*[60] are not mentioned. It may be argued that *viṉai-t-tokai* has been considered to be one word on the basis of Tolkāppiyam 482 and that is why

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51. See pp. 184, 220
52. See under TE *sūtra* 113
53. "constitute where the case sign is not present"
54. "constitute where the case sign is present"
55. "Elliptical compound in which the sign of comparison is understood"
56. Elliptical compound in which the conjunctive particle /*um*/ is understood"
57. "An appositional compound word in which the first member stands in adjectival relation to the second"
58. "Combination of two nouns in apposition where the adjective particle *ākiya* is understood"
59. "Elliptical compound in which a verbal root forms the first component"
60. "Elliptical compound used figuratively"

he has not included this in his enumeration. This cannot be accepted as a conclusive argument because Iḷampūraṇar mentions also *paṇputtokai* which also according to Tolkāppiyam cannot be split into two and be explained. Therefore one has to conclude that the omission of *viṉai-t-tokai* and *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* is due to the copyist omitting them. If that was so, one may definitely state that *sūtra* 97 in Naṉṉūl[61] is inspired by Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on TE 114. But there are certain differences. Tolkāppiyar speaks of *paṇpu-t-tokai* and *irupeyar oṭṭu-p-paṇpu-t-tokai*. Since Naṉṉūl does not admit Tolkāppiyam 482, this distinction is not relevant for Naṉṉūl. Therefore as Mayilainātar interpreted the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* there must be '*ïreccam*' and '*irumuṟṟu*'.[62] In the result both the list give thirteen. Naṉṉūl has gone further to mention certain words though juxtaposed do not become immediate constituents because they really belong to two different constitutes. This by implication comes behind the name *taḻā-t-toṭar* and *aṭukku* illustrates this. If this *aṭukku* is added to the thirteen the number fourteen mentioned in 151 Naṉṉūl is arrived at. This extended meaning of *alvaḻi* upsets the whole scheme of *sandhi* rules as contemplated by Tolkāppiyam. Therefore the commentators have to mention exceptions at every stage to the rules given in Tolkāppiyam. As a result of it the study of the *sandhi* rules has become very perplexing and confusing. For instance ordinarily the rule of doubling of the plosive does not apply to *alvaḻi* as understood by Tolkāppiyam, but when *alvaḻi* is used in an extended sense by Iḷampūraṇar and others, this rule of no change for

61. "*alvaḻi, toḻil, paṇpu, uvamai, ummai, aṉmoḻi, eḻuvāy, viḷi, ïreccam, muṟṟu, iṭai, uri, taḻuvu toṭar, aṭukku*".

62. See footnote 61.

alvaḻi will no longer hold good, for in the case of compounds of two nouns generally there is the doubling of the plosive.

1.6.16.6 About the increment /*u*/: In modern colloquial Tamil (except some finite verbs) words ordinarily do not end in a consonant, but generally get an increment /*u*/. This tendency first affected the *ēval* or the imperative verbs and also the verbal nouns of the same form as the imperative, even in the age of Tolkāppiyam. From the books on prosody it is seen that other words especially nouns by analogy got this /*u*/. Iḷampūraṇar therefore under Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 307 applies the rules about /*u*/ increment to other words also which are not verbal nouns. But even in his time it was not extended as in modern times. Naṉṉūl fails to notice this important tendency. Points like these will suggest that Naṉṉūl after all was not regularly studying the speech of his time. He was probably summarising Tolkāppiyam with such additions as he found from Iḷampūraṇar without reference to the usage of his times. But this kind of argument will compel us to decide that Naṉṉūl has not read Iḷampūraṇar at all, because the very tendency under discussion has not been taken note of even when Iḷampūraṇar mentioned it specifically. The real position is that Naṉṉūl is guided by the literary usage of his times. Secondly he is slavishly following Tolkāppiyam not only because of the great reverence he had for that ancient work which thanks to a revival of feeling in its favour after a period of neglect came to be looked upon as the *Vēda* for the Tamil grammarians, but also because most of the ancient usages considered by Tolkāppiyam continued even in subsequent literature though no more current in the spoken language. Naṉṉūl has omitted various rules found in Tolkāppiyam and also in

Iḷampūraṇam. It therefore must have exercised its own independent thinking. Lastly one must note that there is a difference between a grammatical work and a commentary on a grammatical work. A grammatical work takes care only of all major rules which are more frequent in the language and the others are left to be brought under exceptions. The theory about the commentary prevalent in the age of Naṉṉūl and therefore probably accepted by its author is that when it feels that there are certain rules of minor importance to be mentioned specifically when writing a *sūtra* he may (1) by the use of an extra word suggest that rule (2) by that convention of an extra word or mentioning words in an order different from which they are usually mentioned, a reader or commentator should specifically state the implications. *Sūtras* like 110, 104 etc clearly show that Naṉṉūl was framing *sūtras* consciously having this theory in its mind.

1.6.17 OTHERS:

The other points referred to in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary apart from those already discussed in our comparison of Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl can be explained in the following manner. Various exceptions and usages shown under the *sūtras* as examples have not been given here for want of space. They can be explained as follows :- (1) old usages, (2) those which come under the general rule in Naṉṉūl, (3) those which come under the general exception, (4) specific to Tolkāppiyam, (5) *iyalpu iṟu* and *viti iṟu* forms, a classification which Naṉṉūl does not make and (6) other examples - since the *sūtras* of Tolkāppiyam regarding these are left by Naṉṉūl there is no reference.

2. POST-NAN̲N̲ŪL

2.1 ILAKKAṆA VIḶAKKAM AND NAṈṈŪL

2.1.1 AGE.

Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam (=IV) which is often called *Kuṭṭi-t-Tolkāppiyam* "the short Tolkāppiyam" was written by Vaittiyanāta Nāvalar, who probably, belongs to the closing years of the seventeenth and the beginning years of the eighteenth century. He has also written a commentary on this work of his, incorporating therein the views of the commentators on Tolkāppiyam.

2.1.2 SCHEME OF *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam.*

As far as the *eḻuttatikāram* is concerned he follows the general scheme of Naṉṉūl. The following table gives the quotations from Naṉṉūl. The other *sūtras* are either quotations from Tolkāppiyam, because IV attempts to be true enough to Tolkāppiyam than Naṉṉūl itself or variations from Naṉṉūl which were introduced by IV because of one reason or another. The table which is given below itself will show how much IV has been influenced by Naṉṉūl. Not only the number of *sūtras* but also the arrangement and the general scheme of *eḻuttatikāram* is chiefly based on Naṉṉūl. This itself will show how far Naṉṉūl has come to be recognised as an authoritative grammar even in that eighteenth century which is the age of grammatical criticism. The scheme stated in *sūtra* 2 in Naṉṉūl which is quoted in IV also has been followed in this chapter called *eḻuttiyal.*

Quotations from Naṉṉūl

No. of *sūtra* in Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam	No. of *sūtras* in Naṉṉūl
eḻuttiyal	
2	2
4	4, 8.
7	13, 14, 15.
11	21, 22, 23
21	40
22	41
23	43
25	46
28	52
29	53
32	56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62
33	64
pataviyal	
47	87
48	88
49	89
uyiriṟṟuppuṇariyal	
57	100
58	101
66	150
70	182
72	105
79	119
84	148
86	112
87	113
88	115
90	117
91	118
92	120
99	146

100	126
101	127
102	128
103	129
104	130
105	131
107	134
108	135
109	136
110	137
115	142
116	143
meyyiṟṟuppuṇariyal	
119	154
120	155
121	156
122	157
123	158
125	160
130	165
131	166
132	167
133	168
134	169
135	170
137	171
138	172
139	173
141	176
142	178
143	179

145	181
146	183
147	184
urupu puṇariyal	
151	193
152	190
153	191
154	192
155	195
157	194
158	202

2.1.3 CHANGES BETWEEN IV AND *Naṉṉūl.*

2.1.3.1 General. One may consider here certain changes introduced by him. The first change is that the author prefers to follow Tolkāppiyam and therefore quotes in full some of the *sūtras* in Tolkāppiyam instead of adapting them as Naṉṉūl does. Those *sūtras* have been shown below in a tabular form.

Quotations from Tolkāppiyam

Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam	Tolkāppiyam
12	99
14	88
17	38
22	331
36	58
37	46
39	43, 44
60	126

62	142
63	143
64	139
75	158
77	159
78	165
85	210
95	259
97	273
98	274
111	444
124	345
126	336
140	372
22	

Some of the *sūtras* have been omitted in Nannūl and the reasons have been explained at length in the chapter comparing Tolkāppiyam and Nannūl. The relevant references are given above and those remarks are not repeated here. Mainly, Nannūl has omitted them because some of these rules were no longer frequent as in the time of Tolkāppiyam. Sometimes Nannūl omits because of the changed conditions, for instace 1] /*ū*/ is the basic form for Tolkāppiyam whilst /*ūn̠*/ is the basic form for Nannūl; 2] Nannūl prefers the form *ēḻu* to *ēḻ* preferred by Tolkāppiyam etc. But in many of these cases IV persists in following Tolkāppiyam.

2.1.3.2 About articulation of speech sounds: Some other alterations are due to the fact that the author of IV is a staunch Śaivite, following the Śaiva Āgamas whilst Nannūl

follows the Jain philosophy. Whilst Nannūl defines the spoken sound as caused by *śabda skandhas* or sound molecules, IV in *sūtra* 3, makes *nāda*, the material cause of sound following the Śaiva Āgamas. Following Nēminātam and other Hindu works he calls the upsurging breath as *utāṉaṉ*. Even in his commentary, he refers to the Āgamic theory[1]. In spite of Naṉṉūl changing the order of the organs mentioned in Tolkāppiyam IV persists in following Tolkāppiyar's order viz., *talai, miṭaṟu* and *neñcu*. Naṉṉūl however gives the natural order, chest, throat, cerebrum and nose. Otherwise IV follows Naṉṉūl. IV in its commentary interprets Tolkāppiyam according to the Śaivite philosophy[2].

Often Vaittiyaṉātar follows the commentary of Naccinārkkiṉiyar on Tolkāppiyam, for instance, his interpretation of the phrase *aṇpal*[3]. Again with reference to the resonance chambers involved in the pronunciation of certain sounds, Naṉṉūl follows Iḷampūraṇar and assigns the chest [lungs] for the plosives and the cerebrum for *āytam*. But IV following Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar[4] assigns the head for the plosives and chest for *āytam*. Otherwise IV *sūtra* 10 follows Naṉṉūl.

Sūtra 33 in Naṉṉūl which corresponds to 88 in Tolkāppiyam, gives the differences in the pronunciation of sounds; but the former specifies the differences as being due to *udātta* etc. IV adds in addition following Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, differences due to the resonance chambers - *talai, miṭaṟu* and *mūkku*.[5]

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1. See IV *sūtra* 9 and the commentary written below.
2. Ibid
3. TE Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary p. 102.
4. See under TE *sūtra* 88.
5. See TE, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary p. 109.

2.1.3.3 About uyirmey: *Sūtra* 18 in IV corresponds to *sūtra* 34 in Nannūl. But the author of IV following Naccinārkkiniyar[6], seems to interpret, the word *uruvu* as referring not to the written form. *uruvu* is probably taken as referring to the sound form of which in modern times we can speak of "wave forms" and "formats". According to Naccinārkkiniyar's theory even in the pronunciation of the consonant, there is the opening of the mouth or the action of the breath which as explained by IV is the transformation of the *nāda* which is again equated with the natural /*a*/. Therefore the description viz., "the consonant + /*a*/" is not from this basic *nāda* point of view but from the point of view of articulatory pronunciation of a consonant. All consonants have this intrinsic /*a*/. But when the consonant combines with any other following vowel it does not have that original form, but goes on changing according to the vowel following it. One can roughly compare this theory with the fact that when we analyse the "wave forms" of vowels following the consonant we find that they are changing according to the consonants going up and down to reach the place of the consonant. But a question may be asked whether in that case the author should not have spoken of the change in the vowel rather than, as he does, of the pronunciation of the consonant. It is however to be noted that the consonants, especially, the voiceless ones are never heard as such, except through the change they effect on the vowels following them. This may justify IV's way of mentioning this. This is how Naccinārkkiniyar and Vaittiyanātar interpret Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra*. Perhaps it is too much to expect the modern theory to be explained in an ancient *sūtra*. That is the difficulty created

6. Ibid p. 9; "*iṇṭu uru-v-eṉṟatu maṉaṉuṇarvāy niṟkuṅ karuttu-p-poruḷai*"

by omitting /a/ in describing this change. But perhaps this modern way of explanation may be useful for those trained in old Tamil grammar to understand the modern theories. The ordinary interpretation of the word *uru* appearing in Tolkāppiyam is the written form. Pavaṉanti and Iḷampūraṇar interpret it that way. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ criticises IV for this forced interpretation. He objects to the meaning *olittal* given for *uyirttal*.[7] But even Iḷampūraṇar gives only that meaning; probably he will give that meaning as implying a manifestation in the written form. The present writer does not discuss fully the theory of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. However, explained as above, one can speak of the sound form. In the absence of a detailed criticism of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's theory it is difficult to accept Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's position, though it must be admitted that his interpretation is more in consonance with Naṉṉūl and also easier to understand.

2.1.3.4 About *uyiraḷapeṭai*: Coming to the changes which IV has introduced to be more in accord with Tolkāppiyam, one finds IV *sūtra* 19 on *aḷapeṭai* corresponds to Naṉṉūl 36. IV points out the inconsistency in Naṉṉūl. In *sūtra* 36, Naṉṉūl states that the short vowel occurring after a long vowel is only a symbol to show that the previous long vowel becomes the *plūta*. Therefore according to him the short vowel is not a sound. But later on when enumerating sounds occurring as word finals, he mentions this short vowel[8]. IV also points out that in metre the short vowel is not taken as a mere symbol but as a separate metric syllable[9], a treatment which will not be possible if it was merely a symbol and not a sound.

7. *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakka-c-cūāvaḷi* p. 67.
8. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 53; "*kuṟṟuyir aḷapiṉ iṟām...*"
9. IV p. 26.

2.1.3.4.1 *Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's* **objection:** Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ does not answer the point that the mere symbol cannot become a metrical unit. He admits that the long vowel and the short vowel combine to give the extra length in verse. This is true according to Tolkāppiyam. But he forgets that Naṉṉūl goes to the extent of refusing to accept the short vowel as a sound at all. Naṉṉūl is definite in stating that it is a symbol. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ states that since the short vowel coming there does not alter the meaning of the word where the long vowel alone occurs without the short vowel, the short vowel need not be taken as a sound or a letter different from the long vowel.[10] Because */ā/* and */āku/* do not differ in meaning, one will not be justified in saying that the */ku/* is no sound or letter. One can understand that [1] the long vowel and [2] the long vowel followed by short vowel being two alternant forms. But it is difficult to understand how the short vowel ceases to be a letter when it plays an important part in versification. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ seems to suggest that what is important in versification is only *māttirai*. The word *eḻuttu* seems to be misleading, because it denotes a written form and also a speech sound. *eḻuttu* means here a sound with a quantity and not merely a written form. It is difficult to understand that in scanning, the total quantity of a foot alone is taken into consideration and not the speech sounds. It is true, ultimately a long vowel is equal to two short vowels, because the two *māttirais* form the minimum unit in Tamil verse. But the Tamil verse makes a distinction between a *nēracai* having a long vowel [by nature or position] and a *nirai acai* consisting of only two open short syllables. If mere quantity without reference to the sound

10. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* p. 27.

unit alone is taken into consideration the above mentioned distinction becomes meaningless. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ proceeds to discuss the three-fold distinction found in Sanskrit viz., the short vowel, the long vowel and *plūta*. This itself shows, in spite of his realisation elsewhere that Tamil is distinct from Sanskrit, he falls a prey to the theory that what is true of Sanskrit should also be true of Tamil.[11] Tolkāppiyar must be conscious of the Sanskrit phonology and that must be the reason why he states that "there is no sound which has three *māttirais*" impliedly suggesting that Tamil has no *plūta*.[12] We must admit that Naṉṉūl differs from Tolkāppiyam and that is because Naṉṉūl is true to the usage of his times at least here, thanks to the Sanskrit influence which equates *uyiraḷapeṭai* with *plūta*. As already explained *uyiraḷapeṭai* came to be looked upon as one long vowel instead of as two syllables.

2.1.3.5 **About** *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*. Vaittiyanāta Nāvalar is true to his theory on *uyiraḷapeṭai* even when explaining *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*. According to him *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is also an *oṟṟu* or consonant.[13] But he forgets that *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is different from geminated consonants. In *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* we have syllabic consonants whereas elsewhere all consonants are non-syllabic. In *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* the voiced consonants start as consonants but then become musical and end as syllables. This possibility is explained by Daniel Jones.[14] It is this that the combination of two nasals etc., show in *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*. Therefore the second nasal etc., are

11. Ibid
12. TE *sūtra* 5
13. IV p. 29
14. An Outline of English Phonetics, pp. 56, 238, 328, etc.

not mere symbols. Probably Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ is having some notion which in modern language we may express in terms of phoneme. Perhaps in that sense *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* or *uyiraḷapeṭai* cannot be considered as phonemes.

2.1.3.5.1 *Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's* **criticism:** But as remarked by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ, IV itself in its commentary objects to accept the varieties of *cārpeḻuttu* given in Naṉṉūl except *uyirmey*. Its reason is that they are not separate *eḻuttus*.[15] Here again the word is ambiguous. As far as *uyirmey* is concerned it is true that we have different script forms. But when we analyse *uyirmey* as a consonant and a vowel as in the alphabetic system of writing, there will be no change in the script form. There is only the difference in the environment. If by *eḻuttu* the script form is intended it is difficult to understand how *aukāra-k-kuṟukkam* etc., could become independant varieties of sounds. But *eḻuttu* is to be interpreted as a phoneme. It is very difficult to prove that the *cārpeḻuttus* are phonemes, perhaps by *eḻuttu* he means different phonemes and not phones.

2.1.4 CONCEPTION OF *cārpeḻuttu.*

2.1.41 The terms *mutal eḻuttu* and *cārpeḻuttu:* In this connection, one may discuss the conception of *cārpeḻuttu*. But the first question will be what is meant by *eḻuttu*? Though when speaking of the form or shape, reference is made to the script form, in all other places, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Iḷampūraṇar, Pavaṇanti and all others refer only to the sound. Under TE 45 Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar tries to interpret *eḻuttu* as a syllable. Elsewhere it is clear that *eḻuttu* means a sound.

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15. IV p. 13

Then arises the distinction between the *mutal eḻuttu* and *cārpeḻuttu.* The *mutal eḻuttus* are those which are found in Tamil alphabet. Here syllabic letters are omitted. Often our grammarians define this term *eḻuttu* merely by enumerating them or by indicating as they are in the alphabet. IV and Naṉṉūl have stated *eḻuttu* is the effect from the cause, *nāda*, or the material cause of words *aṇuttiraḷ*. It is the combination of *eḻuttu* that gives us a word. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar adds in addition that the *eḻuttus* combine to give us a word,[16] at the plerematic level so to say; *eḻuttu* denotes itself with varying sound forms at the cenematic level so to say[17] possessing also written script forms. As far as the *cārpeḻuttu* is concerned *āytam* has a distinct script form; *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *kuṟṟiyalikaram* were separated by a diacritic dot so as to distinguish them from the other /*i*/ and /*u*/. There is reason to believe that *āytam* itself had such a diacritic dot. Iḷampūraṇar interprets all these three as being distinguished by the diacritical dot.[18] The letters with this diacritical forms were probably considered as *cārpeḻuttu* from one point of view. From this point of view, the syllabic letters may also be considered to possess the diacritic marks for the vowel combinations. That is probably why, in the later stage, these *uyirmey eḻuttus* were also said to be *cārpeḻuttu.* According to one interpretation [commentary on Vīracōḻiyam] Tolkāppiyam mentions the diacritical mark for *makara-k-kuṟukkam* as well. For *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam* there is no written form unless we take the *pōli* as giving us some kind of form for this.

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16. TE, Naccīṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary p. 9
17. See C. F. Hockett's definition about these two levels in *A course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 575.
18. TE p. 7

There is also another difference of opinion amongst the grammarians. IV as already stated refuses to admit more than one kind of *kuṟṟiyalikaram* or *kuṟṟiyalukaram* whilst it admits two hundred and sixteen kinds of *uyirmey eḻuttu*. This is mainly on the ground that there are 216 script forms for *uyirmey eḻuttu* whilst there is only one form for *kuṟṟiyalikaram* or *kuṟṟiyalukaram*. But if its argument is correct one has to say that there is no written form or diacritic mark for /*ai*/ and /*au*/.

In *uyiraḷapeṭai* and *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*, the short vowel and the second consonant according to Naṉṉūl may be a mere diacretical mark to denote the *aḷapeṭai*. But that is not the position taken by IV. Therefore *eḻuttu vēṟṟumai* [This can be interpreted here only as difference in script form] as mentioned by it cannot be the basis.

2.1.42 *Tolkāppiyar*'s *classification*: As far as Tolkāppiyar is concerned he has mentioned only *kuṟṟiyalikaram*, *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *āytam* as "*cārntu varaṉ marapiṉa*". This cumbrous phrase has been already replaced by an elegant term *cārpeḻuttu* by Pavaṇanti. IV also uses this later term. Tolkāppiyam as it exists today, makes also mention of certain sound variations which may be interpreted as *aikārakkuṟukkam*, *makarakkuṟukkam*, *uyiraḷapeṭai*, *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* and *uyirmey*. The question therefore arises why he has not included all these under the head "*cārntu varaṉ marapiṉa*". IV assumes that there can be only two kinds of *eḻuttu* as *mutal* and *cārpu*. Since these sound variations cannot be *mutal* we must assume according to IV that Tolkāppiyam impliedly includes them under *cārpeḻuttu*[19]. This is doing great violence to the scheme of

19. IV p.12; "*ivai mūṉṟuñ cārpeḻutteṉṟa āciriyar Tolkāppiyaṉārum ēṉai-y-āṟaṉaiyum piṉṉaroruvāṟṟāṟ ṟaḻuvutalāṉum*"

Tolkāppiyam. It has to be admitted that even earlier authors, from Avinayaṉār onwards including Pavaṇanti have included all these varieties under *cārpeḻuttu*. The three mentioned by Tolkāppiyam are combinatorial variants and therefore they are mentioned in *moḻimarapu*; because they can be exemplified only in the combination which results in that variation. We have argued that they are combinatorial or positional variants of /*u*/ and plosives. But IV and other authorities do not accept this position. They club all variations together because they are shortened forms.

2.1.43 *Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's* **opinion:** Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ raises the question: if *kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* are thus shortened variations of /*i*/ and /*u*/, of what sound is *āytam* a shortened [or fading] variant?[20] Perhaps it was not clear in his age whether *āytam* was a fricative and it was only a diacritic mark for showing that the plosive following has become a fricative. *kuṟukkam* need not necessarily mean the shortened form as pointed out by Civñāṉacuvāmikal. He interprets *kuṟuku* to mean "to come"[21]. Utilising that, we may say that *kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* come within a word as combinatorial variants though he himself does not explain it in this way. But others instead of that have taken *kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* as denoting a sound with a shortened quantity, shorter than the ordinary variety of /*i*/ (or /*u*/ for the latter) because the *māttirai* prescribed is half.

2.1.44 *Kuṟṟiyalukaram* **and** *muṟṟiyalukaram*. **Different phonemes?** It has been suggested that *eḻuttu* means a phoneme and also its basic allophone whilst *cārpeḻuttu*

20. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* p.31
21. Ibid p.30

means its combinatorial variants. But if *kuṟṟiyalukaram* contrasts with *muṟṟiyalukaram, kuṟṟiyalukaram* cannot be a mere allophone but will have to be taken as a phoneme· Naccinārkkiniyar points out that the form equal to the verb root when used as an imperative verb such as *kuṭṭu* ends in a *muṟṟiyalukaram* and when used as a verbal noun it ends in a *kuṟṟiyalukaram*.[22] But Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ does not admit this. Iḷampūraṇar is also of the opinion that the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *muṟṟiyalukaram* etc., are contrasting i.e. they differentiate the meaning through their occurrence in words. He also points out that there is the differnce in the way in which they behave in *sandhi*. Reliance is often made on *sūtra* 68 of Tolkāppiyam which states that the word *nuntai* even when its /u/ in the initial syllable is *kuṟṟiyalukaram* does not differ in meaning when the /u/ is pronounced as a *muṟṟiyalukaram*. Whenever there is a difference in intonation or pronunciation it may lead to homonymy at least in the script form and Tolkāppiyar always makes these cases explicit.[23] Tolkāppiyam explains *kuṟṟiyalukaram* as occurring in the final position as the combinatorial variant; therefore there is no question of any change in meaning. It has already been pointed out on the basis of Iḷampūraṇar that if the final position is not also utterance final then there is no *kuṟṟiyalukaram*, but only *muṟṟiyalukaram*. If this is accepted there is no change in the meaning. But *nuntai* is not a combinatorial variant but a free variation. This *kuṟṟiyalukaram* as occurring in initial syllable is an exceptional case. As is usual with him he has to clear the doubt whether they are two different words or two different

22. TE, Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary p. 92

23. See TE *sūtras* 76, 241, 242, 245, 337, 338 etc.

pronunciations of the same word. That is the reason why Tolkāppiyar, according to his scheme as already explained, gives us *sūtra* 68. It may be seen that Tolkāppiyar does not mention the final occurrence of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* but only mentions the final /*u*/. This is because the final /*u*/ should include also its combinatorial variant viz. the *kuṟṟiyalukaram*. Pavaṉanti does not understand this in that way. Therefore he mentions *kuṟṟiyalukaram* specifically when enumerating the final sounds.[24] So does IV[25]. As already stated what were once allophones developed into phonemes by the age of Naccinārkkiṉiyar and Pavaṉanti. The contrast illustrated by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar with reference to *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *muṟṟiyalukaram* had already been noted. But as is often the case, it is the number of words borrowed from Sanskrit which did not follow this allophonic variation that introduced more contrasts between *muṟṟiyalukaram* [in Sanskrit words] and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* in the same position [in native words]. But it has to be stated that in spite of the development of a phonemic position for *kuṟṟiyalukaram*, soon the natural tendency in the language which is often called "drift"[26] has probably made *kuṟṟiyalukaram*, once again an allophone, extending its field of operation not only in the final position but also elsewhere especially with reference to the /*u*/ preceding the final *kuṟṟiyalukaram*.

2.1.441 As far as *kuṟṟiyalikaram* is concerned, we can give the contrast in a phrase *vikkiyātu payaṉ* and *vikku+yātu* which later also becomes *vikkiyātu*. But this became a rare usage though one finds its extension or rather emergence

24. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 52
25. IV *sūtra* 28
26. Bloomfield, *Language*, p.

elsewhere whenever there is a consonantal ending followed by /*y*/. Even here in all these cases of contrasts mentioned with reference to the shorter /*i*/ it looks more as a *sandhi* rule.

As far as *āytam* is concerned in *muṭṭītu* and *mu.:ṭītu* /-.:ṭ-/ is an allophone of /-ṭṭ-/. We find even in Tolkāppiyar's age the two forms available, one as the geminated plosive and other as the combination of a fricative and a plosive which are being utilised for distinguishing declensional compounds from phrases consisting of subject and predicate. But this cannot be said to be introducing a phonemic change. But forms like *e°°ku* "steel" and *ekku* "to raise up oneself" certainly introduced phonemic contrast; but this is a later usage. Therefore in the middle ages these three mentioned by Tolkāppiyar must have developed into phonemes and this might have justified some grammarians speaking of a difference in meaning.

2.1.442 Explanations for *Tolkāppiyar* mentioning only three as *cārpu*.

2.1.4421 One explanation: But the question may arise if the three mentioned by Tolkāppiyar as *cārpu* are really combinatorial variants, why he has not included under that head *makara-k-kuṟukkam* which he himself mentions. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's argument is that these three are independant sounds though occurring as combinatorial variants[27]. The variants are not specific different sounds but due to, (from what in Sanskrit is called) *laghūccāraṇa*, a slight variation in the pronunciation in a particular phonetic context. He therefore states that though in Tamil these three sounds occur only in particular environment, that is not the cause for those sounds suffering any change

27. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* p. 33

whereas in the case of *laghūccāraṇa* the phonetic context is the cause. For establishing this proposition he relies upon the names *kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* where the word *iyal* "nature" according to him, shows that they are natural and not the effects of phonetic contexts as in the case of *makara-k-kuṟukkam* etc. Therefore according to him in *kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* there is no shortening as a result of the context, though they are short in comparison with the other /i/ or /u/. In this connection he quotes the *sūtra* – *ellā-v-iṟutiyu mukara niṟaiyum*[28] but refuses probably the interpretation given by Iḷampūraṇar. This is because as already pointed out, *kuṟṟiyalukaram* did not become a *muṟṟiyalukaram* when not utterance final long before the time of Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. The word *niṟaiyum* "to become full in quantity" naturally implies that it will not be shortened in that position. The shortening therefore must also be due to the phonetic context according to Tolkāppiyar. But in any way one has to admit that there is some force in his argument.

2.1.4422 The other explanation: The other explanation for Tolkāppiyar mentioning only these three as *cārpeḻuttu* will be to reject all the other *sūtras* referring to other combinatorial variants as either later interpolations or as not referring to any uniform pronunciation.

Perhaps there is a third explanation. Tolkāppiyar looks upon *aḷapeṭai* as a cluster and therefore there is no change in pronunciation. As far *makara-k-kuṟukkam* it is a rule of *sandhi* and therefore a case of assimilation. Even in *pōṉm* it is a case of internal *sandhi*. As far as *uyirmey* is concerned,

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28. TE *sūtra* 409

Tolkāppiyar, probably, did not admit that they undergo any variation in pronunciation.

With reference to /ai/, *sūtra* 57 makes a reference to occasional variations because in that place he does not mention any environment. It will be seen that though in his reference to the three *cārpeḻuttus* he notes also their occurrences in *sandhi*. As in *sūtra* 68, all his definitions of the *cārpeḻuttu* are primarily based on their occurrences in individual words without creating any contrast. He does not include occasional free variations as in the category of *cārpeḻuttu,* though Naccinārkkiniyar interpreted Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* as defining *kuṟṟiyalukara-k-kuṟukkam*. Tolkāppiyam as interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar and others has no such reference to *kuṟṟiyalukara-k-kuṟukkam.* It is significant that Naṉṉūl and IV do not mention this though earlier authors have already pointed out.

Tolkāppiyar does not mention any variation as far as /au/ is concerned. Similarly he does not mention about *āytakkuṟukkam.* But Naṉṉūl following others mention this *āytakkuṟukkam.*[29] IV does not admit the existence of this and therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, the commentator on Naṉṉūl accuses IV of going against the evidence of our senses.[30] In the result even if we go to the extent of rejecting Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* as later interpolations, there is justification for Tolkāppiyar limiting the term *cārpu* only to the three he specifically mentions.

2.1.443 *aikārakkuṟukkam.* In the post-Tolkāppiyam age the occasional variations have become uniform variants; so

29. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 42; see also the chapter on Avinayam.
30. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 42.

much so /*ai*/ in the medial and final positions instead of being a diphthong, was slightly raised to have become the lower mid /ɛ/. In the initial position there is a difference of opinion about its quantity. Some would say it had only one *māttirai*. But this, as pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ goes against its being a long syllable when occurring in the initial syllable of a foot[31]. Therefore others have said that in that position it has one and a half *māttirais*. If /*ai*/$=a+y$ the /*a*/ being followed by a consonant /*y*/ should be long by position. Taken in this sense, Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's objection is minimised.

2.1.444 *aukārakkuṟukkam*. However, /*au*/ which is the variant of /*av*/ occurs only initially in Tamil words. i e. it is long only by position even when occurring initially. This may be a justification for others speaking of the shortening of /*au*/. But it is very difficult to understand some of these authors who extend this *aukārakkuṟukkam* not only to the initial position but also to the medial and final positions, because /*au*/ does not occur in native words, but only in Sanskrit borrowings. Perhaps some of them have found this even in the Tamilian pronunciation also, with the raising of the /*a*/ into the back lower mid position [ɔ]. But the occurrence of such words should have been so rare that one may be justified in agreeing with Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ and rejecting *aukārakkuṟukkam.*

2.1.445 *makara-k-kurukkam*: As far as *makara-k-kuṟukkam* is concerned, it is a labio-dental nasal /*m̱*/ on account of /*m*/ assimilating with /*v*/ or it is a nasalisation of the vowel before the /*m*/ with a pause when /*v*/ comes thereafter. In *pōṉm* etc., perhaps there is a simultaneous pronun-

31. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* p. 33.

ciation of both the nasals. But the latter case is not in current usage; it could not have been so even in the age of Nan̲n̲ūl. Therefore one has to take note of the *sandhi* /*m*/ only which may be generally equated with the labio-dental /*m̲*/. The nasalisation of the preceding vowel if any will be a later development; for this has become the rule -V*m* > ṽ in later times.[32]

2.1.446 *Āytam*. As far as *āytam* is concerned Tolkāppiyam differentiates between the *sandhi āytam* and the *āytam* in the individual words. The *āytam* in individual words are always *mur̲r̲āytam* 'full *āytam*". But the *sandhi āytams* are either *mur̲r̲āytam* or shortened *āytam*. Where they are the alternants of the /*v*/ they are *mur̲r̲āytam*. Where they are the alternants of /*l*/ or /*ḷ*/ they are shortened *āytam* according to some. IV does not accept this shortening. There is a two-fold distinction in the later day pronunciation of *āytam*. As already pointed out *āytam* becomes /*i*/ or /*y*/; in all those cases they are pointed out as *mur̲r̲āytam*. *a°ₒtu > aitu*; *a°ₒkaṭiya > aykaṭiya*. In those cases described by some as shortened *āytam*, it cannot be reduced to the pronunciation of /*i*/ and /*y*/ because Tamil allows no clustering of /*y*/ with the alveolar or cerebral plosives.[33] Therefore evidently there must have been two different pronunciations. When it was more or less like a /*y*/ it was considered as full and in other cases perhaps it was no more than a juncture.

There was, it must be noted, the other kind of pronunciation where *āytam* was more or less a guttural sound as

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32. V = Vowel

33. i.e. the combinations **muyṭītu*, **kayr̲ītu* are not possible.

described for instance by Caldwell.[34] But before /-ṟ-/ and /-ṭ-/ it was a kind of a cerebral fricative and that is why probably Naṉṉūl and other authorities speak of it as cerebral, though one may not be quite sure of the meaning to be given to that word *talai* occurring in the *sūtra* about articulation. It is because of these two differences in pronunciation of *āytam*, that grammarians from the time of Yāpparuṅkalam began to speak of two varieties of *āytam* and when these two varieties are denied by IV, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is tempted to say that IV is going against the empirical evidence.

2.1.447 *aḷapeṭai.* As far as *uyiraḷapeṭai* is concerned it has already been shown that it came to be identified with the Sanskrit *plūta.* It has not become a phoneme, for, in the later age *uyiraḷapeṭai* was only a variant of the short or the long vowel and *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* the variant of the single consonant. Therefore in the post-Tolkāppiyam age there was reason for taking these as uniform allophonic variations, though some of them occur only in literature and poetry.

2.1.448 *uyirmey.* The question of *uyirmey* remains. *uyirmey* has been accepted as a *cārpu* by almost all the later grammarians. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ strongly opposes this view.[35] He feels that the combination of V+C is same as C+V. For e.g. /*lā*/ cannot be different from /*āl*/. He says that even in the syllabic letters the vowel does not lose the quantity and the consonants do not cease to be plosives or nasals or semi-vowels. The combination of a consonant and a vowel, according to him, is a natural combination introducing no change.

34. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages,* (1961) p. 130.

35. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* pp. 32 and 33.

He finds no use whatsoever for taking the *uyirmey* as one unit. In metre it is only the syllabic sound (which is the vowel) which is taken into consideration and therefore, according to him, this does not lead us to consider it as a unit. It is to distinguish [1] the letter for e.g. a consonant which is not taken into consideration in the counting of syllables in versification and [2] the letter which is thus taken into consideration, that the diacritical marks are placed on the consonants which do not combine with a following vowel. It is for the same reason that the terms *puḷḷi* and *uyirmey* have been utilised. The script form of the *uyirmey* does not, as already argued by him, introduce any alternation in the sound form.

In all these arguments Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ seems to minimise the importance of one significant fact. At least in the post-Tolkāppiyam age, from the evidence of all grammarians, it is clear that a consonant plus a vowel does not have the same quantity as a vowel plus a consonant. C+V= 1 *māttirai*; C+V=2 *māttirais*; V+C=$1\frac{1}{2}$ *māttirais*; V+C= $2\frac{1}{2}$ *māttirais*. The *uyirmey* thus suffers the diminution to the extent of the quantity of the consonant therein. This is certainly a variation which has to be taken into consideration. Though the grammarians say it is the consonant which has lost its quantity, the very fact that they take the *uyirmey* as a unit will suggest that this should be attributed to the whole unit. Instrumental phonetics must decide the details of this variation. The script form may suggest that the consonant with the *puḷḷi* is distinct from the consonant in the syllabic letters and therefore they are their respective allophones. In this way modern allophonics seems to explain the conception of *cārpeḻuttu*.

2.1.45 *Modern allophonics.* Then the question remains whether this justifies Naṉṉūl speaking of the varieties of the allophones mentioned above. There is the objection of IV that because of the positional variation, allophones cannot be multiplied. Modern allophonics tell us that there is a slight variation of any particular sound depending on its environments. But it also shows that there is no useful purpose served in counting them as different types of the same allophone. From this point of view IV may be correct. But there is another advantage seen in the way in which Naṉṉūl treats these varieties. They are not to be taken as various types of the allophones. Following Tolkāppiyar, Naṉṉūl has to define the allophones only in terms of the environment and it is a useful guidance to the student of Tamil language to know details of these environments for understanding correctly their distribution. Taken in this sense the details given in Naṉṉūl are to be welcomed. IV itself accepts such details for *uyirmey*. He feels that there are 216 varieties for *uyirmey* whilst there are no such types or varieties with reference to to other *cārpeḻuttus*. It is his acceptance of these varieties with reference to *uyirmey eḻuttu* that gives the trouble. It has been pointed above that the vowels in *uyirmey* are undergoing changes according to the preceding consonants. But according to Naṉṉūl as interpreted above, these varieties explain only the distribution of the vowels or the consonants in their varying combinations in forming syllabic units and not as various types of the *uyirmey* allophones. But since the author of IV does not look upon this *uyirmey* varieties on a par with the varieties of other *cārpeḻuttus* he has to justify his position. His only justification is that there are 216 different scripts for the varieties of *uyirmey*. But this alone cannot be a sufficient justification for his position.

2.1.46 Reservation. An attempt has been made here to explain the opinion of ancient grammarians in terms of modern linguistics especially modern allophonics. But it has to be stated that there cannot be a one to one correspondence between the technical terms used by modern linguists and those used by ancient grammarians. It is with this reservation, this chapter has to be read.

2.1.5 CHANGES CONTINUED:

2.1.51 About the scheme. IV 2 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 2. It is a slavish imitation. IV has not chosen to exercise its independent thinking on the value of *eṇ*, *peyar* etc., to a correct understanding of the phonological structure of Tamil language, as pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.[36]

2.1.52 About *kuṟṟiyalukaram*. With reference to the distribution of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* Naṉṉūl has given 36 as the number of its places of occurrence. IV points out that if the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* coming with six plosives in the final syllable should come with the six preceding sounds described in Naṉṉūl then only one can have thirty six different places for *kuṟṟiyulukaram* and that since however the final syllable with the alveolar and cerebral plosives cannot be preceded by a semi-vowel the thirty six varieties are not possible to be realised.[37] Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ on the other hand points out that the final syllable with the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* occurs preceded by thirty six different sounds viz., six long vowels in *neṭiṟ-ṟoṭar-kuṟṟiyalukaram*, twelve vowels in *uyirttoṭar-kuṟṟiya-lukaram*, six plosives in *vaṉṟoṭar-kuṟṟiyalukaram*, six nasals in

36. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* p. 65
37. IV p. 24

meṉṟoṭar-kuṟṟiyalukaram, six semi-vowels in *iṭaittoṭar-kuṟṟiyalukaram*. This will give us thirty eight but the semi-vowel /*v*/ will not be followed by a plosive in Tamil. And again /*au*/ will not be followed by a plosive in Tamil. And again /*au*/ cannot occur medially; if these two are deducted we get according to Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ the number thirty six.[38]

2.1.53 Articulation.

2.1.531 Vowels and consonants: In describing the articulations Vaittiyanātar clubs together all vowels in one *sūtra* and all consonants in another.[39] Apart from certain alterations necessitated on account of this, there are other changes introduced in the *sūtra* describing the articulation of the consonants. One is about the semi-vowel /*y*/. We had already noticed that Naṉṉūl is not correct with reference to the description of the articulation of /*y*/. Therefore IV prefers quoting Tolkāppiyam.

2.1.532 /*ṟ*/ **and** /*ṉ*/: With reference to /*ṟ*/ and /*ṉ*/ as already stated Naṉṉūl uses the phrase *naṉi uṟiṉ* perhaps trying to differentiate /*r*/ and /*ṟ*/ as pronounced in his age.[40] Here also IV tries to follow Tolkāppiyam by using the verb *oṟṟa*.[41] But the question is whether he is true to his own pronunciation. Here is a slavish imitation of an authority rather than an empirical or objective outlook.

2.1.533 *kuṟṟiyalikaram*. In describing the *kuṟṟiyalikaram* Naṉṉūl uses the word *tiri*;[42] i.e. /*u*/ is transformed

38. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* p. 31 and 65.
39. IV *sūtras* 11 and 12.
40. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 31
41. IV *sūtra* 12
42. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 38

into /*i*/. But IV following Tolkāppiyam uses the verb *tapa*[43] i.e. the /*u*/ will disappear. But Tolkāppiyam uses elsewhere the phrase *tuvara-t-tō<u>n</u><u>r</u>ātu* "disappear entirely".[44] This IV has equated with the word *tapa*. *Ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalukaram*, according to IV which follows Naccinārkkiniyar, is compared to a consonant giving room for another vowel to combine with it. In such a place the *ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalukaram* will not completely manifest itself according to Naccinārkkiniyar. IV follows this theory in its *uyiri<u>r</u><u>r</u>up-p-puṇariyal* 65 where it uses the phrases *mu<u>r</u><u>r</u>a-t-tō<u>n</u><u>r</u>ātu* for Tolkāppiyar's phrase *tuvara-t-tō<u>n</u><u>r</u>ātu* as against Nannūl which speaks of the /*u*/ disappearing or running away.[45] Therefore IV if it were consistent, should not have used the word *tapa*. But as already stated Nannūl is also not consistent.

2.1.534 *cārpeḻuttu*: Therefore *sūtra* 5 in IV corresponding to 6 in Nannūl is differently worded in giving the elaborate details of *cārpeḻuttu*. According to IV *uyiraḷapeṭai* is seven, *o<u>r</u><u>r</u>aḷapeṭai* is eleven and *uyirmey* is two hundred and sixteen, because all these have as many script forms. *Ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalikaram*, *ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalukaram*, *āytam*, *aikārakku<u>r</u>ukkam*, *aukārakku<u>r</u>ukkam* and *makarakku<u>r</u>ukkam* have no varieties and have to be counted as one each. Therefore the total is 285. Nannūl mentions however forty two varieties of *o<u>r</u><u>r</u>aḷapeṭai* because there are eleven consonants [1] each occurring after single short syllables and two short syllables [2] both in the medial and final position which will give us forty four varieties [11×2×2=44]. It is for consideration whether Nannūl has omitted the final occurrence of *velar* and *āytam*. If so (2×2=)

43. IV *sūtra* 15
44. TE *sūtra* 411
45. Nannūl *sūtra* 109; '*uyir varin ukku<u>r</u>aḷ meyviṭṭōṭum*'

4 vowels will go and one will have only forty varieties. Therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar states that the final occurrence of velar nasal is accepted because it occurs in *sandhi*; but according to him *āytam* does not occur after the two short syllables and also after single short syllables. If these two are omitted we get forty two.[46] But why the *āytam* coming after the short syllable as *sandhi* change, should be omitted is not clear. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ however points out that the *āytam* can come even after two short syllables.[47] IV in its commentary admits this. But the *āytam* in *vilaₒ°ₒki* is according to IV is not due to the natural occurrence of *āytam*, in a word or in *sandhi*; it comes there because of metrical exigencies.[48] Therefore in *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* they can be countenanced. This is evidently a later usage. But in the age of Tolkāppiyam, *āytam* occurred only after a short syllable. But Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ and, if Dr. Swaminata Aiyar's edition is to be relied, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar also go to the extent of interpreting Tolkāppiyam itself as providing for the occurrence of *āytam* after two short syllable. Their position is that the short syllable mentioned in Tolkāppiyām need not necessarily be the initial short syllable immediately preceding the *āytam*. According to them there should be a short syllable preceding *āytam* which can be in its turn preceded by another short syllable. This cannot be the view of Tolkāppiyar as is made clear by the *sūtras* on *sandhi* etc.

2.1.6 EXTENDING THE TERM *viri* FOR *mutal* ALSO.

Because IV has stated the *viri* or the elaborated details of *cārpu* in one *sūtra* it wants to refer the elaborate details of

46. Naṉṉūl p. 46
47. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* p. 67
48. IV p. 25

mutal eḻuttu also in one *sūtra*. Since it has clubbed together all the *cārpeḻuttu* in one *sūtra*, it similarly gives the detailed varieties of *mutal eḻuttu* also in one *sūtra*[49] thus combining *sūtras* 4 and 8 in Naṉṉūl.

In giving the classification of vowels IV combins Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 8, 9 and 10, 11 and 12 into one. Naṉṉūl specifies *cuṭṭu* and *viṉā* in the place where it describes the vowels. Therefore IV in its *sūtra* 6 summarises Naṉṉūl including the *sūtras* 11 and 12.

2.1.7 ABOUT DEMONSTRATIVES.

With reference to the demonstratives IV introduces a change. Naṉṉūl uses the phrase *taṉivariṉ*.[50] Probably it has to be interpreted as coming as a separate morph or word in compounds like *akkoṟṟaṉ* "that *koṟṟaṉ*". IV points out that the /*a*/ occurs also in words like *atu*, *itu* etc. where /*a*/ cannot be taken as an independent word.[51] But as Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ[52] points out that *taṉi variṉ* means its occurrence as a separate morpheme in a word or a compound. A morpheme must have a meaning; here the meaning is that of a demonstrative. Therefore Naṉṉūl is not defective as pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.[53] The emendation introduced by IV makes the *sūtra*, according to Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ, meaningless;

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49. IV *sūtra* 4
50. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 11
51. IV p. 14
52. Following Caṅkaranamaccivāyar under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 11.
53. Caṅkarnamaccivāyar points out that the interrogative base /*e*–/ also must be taken as a separate morpheme.

because *moḻi mutal variṉ* will apply to all the initial occurrences whether it is a morpheme or not. So much so in words like *atai* that (*acc-*) according to IV /*a*/ should be a demonstrative.

2.1.8 ABOUT *muṟai* AND *iṉam*.

Naṉṉūl deals with *muṟai* "order of the sounds" as found in the traditional Tamil alphabetical system in its *sūtra* 18. But because that *sūtra* mentions the word *iṉam* it has to explain the conception of *iṉam* in its *sūtra* 17. IV combines both these *iṉam* and *muṟai* in one rule[54] for the simple reason that *muṟai* alone is the major topic even when so combined. In explaining the conception of *iṉam* or kinship in relation to sounds, Naṉṉūl mentions the similarity of the place of articulation, similarity of the articulatory movement, similarity of meaning and similarity of form as forming the basis of the conception of the kinship of sounds.[55] IV here also follows Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar who clubs together *tāṉam* and *muyaṟci* under *piṟappu*. IV mentions in its commentary the frequency of combinations and their similar behaviour in helping rhythm etc., once again following Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. IV uses the word *tōṟṟam* for *piṟappu*. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar introduces also the similarity of behaviour in *sandhi* as a basis for such kinship.[56] Therefore IV adds the word *ceykai* in its *sūtra*. It is unfortunate that both Naṉṉūl and IV should have mentioned the basis of similarity of meaning. In rare instances because of metrical and other reasons, long vowels and short vowels or nasals and consonants may lose their contrast. But ordinarily speaking these are contrasted and that is why they are phonemes in the Tamil language. As

54. IV *sūtra* 8
55. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 17
56. See under TE 1.

Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ points out, it is the similarity of articulation or place of articulation that is the basis of kinship everywhere whether the word is used literally or figuratively. It is for the purpose of explaining this kinship of sounds that the chapter on articulation is given in Tolkāppiyam, for, otherwise there is no purpose for this piṟappiyal according to Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.[57] This is indeed going too far; for when vowels and consonants are mentioned unless their articulation is specified mere mentioning of the words, vowels and consonants will be of no use.

Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ also points out that all the remaining similarities except that of the similarity of articulation cannot form the basis of kinship. He points out that if the conception of IV and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar [and also of Iḷampūraṇar] is correct, /m/ and /ṉ/ should be related because of the similarity of quality [nasality] and similarity of meaning in words like *nilam* and *nilaṉ*; similarly /k/ and /c/ should be related because of similarity of shape; /r/ and /ḷ/ should be related because of the similarity of behaviour in *sandhi*. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's criticism should be accepted as valid. But it applies not only to IV but also to Naṉṉūl.

2.1.9 ABOUT THE DEFINITION OF *kuṟṟiyalukaram:*

Coming to define *kuṟṟiyalukaram*, IV has omitted the words *piṟamēṟṟoṭaravum peṟumē* when quoting the Naṉṉūl *sūtra*.[58] That is because IV feels that it has used the word *toṭarmoḻi* in the technical sense in which it is used in Tolkāppiyam as referring to a word having more than two letters. The word *toṭarmoḻi* probably has to be interpreted twice, once in the technical sense and the second time in the ordinary sense. But this is rather ambiguous and therefore Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ asserts that this is a mistake.[59]

57. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti*, p. 25
58. IV *sūtra* 16; Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 94.
59. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* p. 32

2.1.10 ABOUT QUANTITY :

IV *sūtra* 24 gives the quantities for the various sounds and this corresponds to *sūtra* 44 in Naṉṉūl. As already stated IV following Tolkāppiyam does not admit the *plūta*. Therefore it omits the word *mūṉṟuyiraḷapu* found in Naṉṉūl; so also it omits *oṟṟaḷapu*. It also omits *āyta-k-kuṟukkam* as it does not admit the existence of such *kuṟukkam*. Naṉṉūl gives the definition of *māttirais* in its *sūtra* 45. But IV combines this *sūtra* with its *sūtra* enumerating the *māttirais*. But even here, he prefers to quote Tolkāppiyam 7 instead of Naṉṉūl 45.

2.1.11 ABOUT THE DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES:

Comming to the distribution of the phonemes IV follows Tolkāppiyam[60]; therefore it changes the Naṉṉūl *sūtras* accordingly. IV does not accept the occurrence of the velar nasal in the initial syllable. But Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ states [also Caṅkaranamaccivāyar] that there is a word /*ṅaṉam*/ which has various meanings.[61] He states that Tolkāppiyam recognised impliedly that word /*ṅaṉam*/ in its *sūtra* 29. This is rather surprising, because Tolkāppiyar seems to be differentiating the *mutalāku eḻuttu* as distinct from /*ṅ*/. But it has to be admitted that all the commentators give the example *vēṟṅaṉam* etc., perhaps in the age of Naṉṉūl, as Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ points out /*ṅaṉam*/ has to be taken as a bound form, though ultimately *iṅṅaṉam* etc., should be historically traced to *iṅkaṉam* etc. We have already noticed that certain words from dialects and from Sanskrit had not come into the language of Tolkāppiyam though they had at a later age.

60. IV *sūtra* 27

61. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* p. 69

That is the reason why Tolkāppiyar does not mention certain distribution of sounds. But as shown elsewhere by the time of Caṅkam age, on account of the dialectic and the language borrowings, the Tamil language has accepted the initial occurrence of /c/ and /ñ/ in combination with the vowels which Tolkāppiyam had not mentioned. This has been taken note of by Vīracōḻiyam and to an extent by Naṉṉūl. We have complained that even Naṉṉūl is not true to its age. This complaint is much more valid with reference to IV. Tolkāppiyar himself admits the occurrence of foreign words etc., in Tamil literature. Therefore any grammar as pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ should provide for these words occurring as Tamilised words. To refuse to recognise these is not correct. IV has been misled by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar even as Naṉṉūl was misled by Iḷampūraṇar. All this criticism applies generally to all IV *sūtras* describing the distribution of phonemes.

IV *sūtra* 27 which will have to correspond to 48, 49 and 50 in Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam 62, 64 and 65.

2.1.12 ABOUT *pōli:*

With reference to *pōli,* IV *sūtra* 36 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 70, as far as its first three lines are concerned. But *sūtra* 36 in IV has two more lines; of these the first line is Tolkāppiyam 58. Naṉṉūl should be taken as a combination of *sūtras* 54 and 56 in Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyar does not mention /a/+/v/=/au/ though he mentions /a/+/u/=/au/. But post-Tolkāppiyam writers admitted this /a/+/v/=/au/ on the analogy of the *sūtra* relating to /ai/. In combining, in this way the *sūtra* becomes a little ambiguous. Because the *sūtras* can be interpreted also as /a/+/i/+/y/=/ai/. There-

fore IV feels that it should add that the /i/ and /y/ should be taken as the final consonants. But this *sūtra* is taken in a sense different from how it is used in Tolkāppiyam as already explained. As far as Naṉṉūl is concerned it does not follow the older commentator by saying that these *pōlis* should be discarded. This *pōli* explains certain metrical resonance such as initial rhyming resonance etc. Therefore Naṉṉūl has not stated like Iḷampūraṇar and others that this should be discarded. IV however follows Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar[62] and Iḷampūraṇar.[63]

2.1.121 *Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's* **criticism:** Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ does not look upon *pōli* as a necessary topic in phonology.[64] He feels those *sūtras* in Tolkāppiyam deal really with *sandhi akṣara* a conception known to Sanskrit grammarians.[65] The *sandhi akṣaras* are really diphthongs. In explaining the order of the sounds as found in the alphabet he states that /a/ is pronounced when the tongue is in the neutral position; /i/ comes next where the tongue goes to touch the teeth nearby; /u/ comes next with the additional rounding of the lips. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ follows the Sanskrit grammarians in calling /ē/ as the diphthong of /a/ and /i/ and calling /o/ as the diphthong of /a/ and /u/. Since /ai/ is /a/+/y/+/i/ it comes after /e/ and since /au/ is /a/+/v/+/u/ it comes after /o/. He interprets the Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* accordingly. This interpretation differs from what we have stated earlier. His interpretation of the *sūtra* "*ikara yakaram iṟuti viravum*" in Tolkāppiyam states that in the diphthong /ai/, /y/ will come

62. See his commentary on TE *sūtras* 54 and 55.
63. Ibid
64. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* p. 72
65. *Mutaṟ cūttira virutti* p. 27

before the final /*i*/. It is very difficult to understand how one could arrive at this interpretation. There is further a fundamental objection to this interpretation. One is that /*e*/ and /*o*/ are not diphthongs in Tamil and in other Dravidian languages so much so that even in the Sanskrit pronunciation of the Tamilians /*e*/ and /*o*/ are not diphthongs. Secondly in the pronunciation of /*ai*/ and /*au*/ he states that there are the consonantal /*y*/ and the consonantal /*v*/. Though he relies upon Sanskrit authorities he does not show any direct authority therefor. Because Patañjali states that there is an element of /*ṟ*/ and an element of /*ḷ*/ in the syllabic /*ṛ*/ and /*ḷ*/ they are included with the vowels in the alphabet, Civañāṉa-cuvāmikaḷ argues that Patañjali must be impliedly admitting the presence of /*y*/ and /*v*/ in /*ai*/ and /*au*/ respectively. In Tamil in the pronunciation of /*au*/ there is no trace of the /*v*/ as pointed out by Aracañcaṇmukaṉār and as may be seen from the fact that the teeth and the lip do not come into contact as they should in the pronunciation of /*v*/. But, perhaps, in olden times the /*v*/ was rather the bilabial [*w*] rather than the labio-dental. In the pronunciation of /*ai*/ even when pronounced all alone there is only /*a*/ and /*i*/ of which the latter becomes a consonant. That is why Tolkāppiyar has said /*a*/+/*i*/ or as its alternant /*a*/+/*y*/=/*ai*/. There are not three elements therein. Tolkāppiyam says that /*a*/+/*u*/=/*au*/. From Caṅkam age onwards we found that what he has written as /*au*/ is found always written as /*av*/.[66] If this usage does not contradict Tolkāppiyam one has to assume that /*v*/ was a bilabial sound and that is why Tolkāppiyar speaks of /*v*/. Therefore the *sūtras* referring to /*a*/+/*i*/=/*ay*/, /*a*/+/*y*/=/*ay*/ and /*a*/+/*u*/=/*au*/ can be taken as referring to diphthongs.

66. See *nauvi*=*navvi* in Puṟanāṉūṟu 2.

But not so the *sūtra* "*ikara yakaram iṟuti viravum*". On the basis of his grammatical essays, Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ has corrected the commentary on Naṉṉūl by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar. Therein he has interpreted the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 70 as referring to *sandhi akṣara*. Similarly *sūtra* 36 of IV could be easily interpreted as referring to *sandhi akṣara*. His objection and criticism should therefore apply not to the text but to the commentary on this *sūtra* which is also written by the author himself.

2.1.13 ABOUT *cāriyai* FOR LETTERS :

IV *sūtra* 37 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 71 which enumerates the *cāriyais* occurring after sounds referring to themselves. Naṉṉūl uses the word *meykaḷ akaram*. But instead of this IV uses *oṟṟu ivaṟṟoṭu karamumām*. But then there will be no rule for the consonants getting the *cāriyai* /*a*/. Therefore IV adds at the end, the Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 46 i.e. the words "*meyyiṉiyakkam akaramoṭu civaṇum.*"

2.1.14 CHANGES INTRODUCED BY *Vaittiyanātar* IN *Naṉṉūl sūtras* FOR MAKING THE STRUCTURE GRAMMATICALLY CORRECT:

2.1.141 About the additive conjunctions. There are certain changes introduced by IV not because of any difference in theory but because of making the sentence structure of the *sūtras* more correct grammatically or less ambiguous. In the first *sūtra* itself Naṉṉūl introduces two different additive conjunctions *eṉṟā* and *eṉa*. Probably IV thinks that such two different additive conjunctions should not be coupled together. Therefore he has made subsidiary changes.

2.1.142 About the change of words: Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 67 is slightly altered as IV 30. The *sūtra* begins with *ṉakaraviṟuti* instead of *makaraviṟuti* and as a consequence, in the second line there is *makaramoṭu* instead of *ṉakaramoṭu.* IV uses *mayaṅki* instead of *uṟaḻā* of Tolkāppiyam. The reason for the change is that if /*m*/ is taken as the basic form there are so many words in the later age like *vaṭṭam* which do not change. But if /*ṉ*/ is taken as the basie form, then there will be no objection. But even this cannot solve the problem. Because there are a number of words which end in /*ṉ*/ like *tēṉ* etc., whose /*ṉ*/ does not alternate with /*m*/. Tolkāppiyam specifically states that this alternation will take place only in *toṭarmoḻi*, i.e., in words of more than two letters or syllables.[67] Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ however defines that this alternation will take place in the words of the pattern CVCV*ṉ*/*m*[68]. This may be correct as far as the modern usage goes. With reference to the usage of Tolkāppiyar's age, as the commentators point out, words of the pattern CVCV*ṉ* should have also to be taken into consideration because there are at least two words of this pattern.

2.1.143 About the *sūtra* which states the clustering: Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 55 is about the clusters and the corresponding *sūtra* in IV is 31. In Naṉṉūl the author first states the clustering of consonants as occurring in the middle of a word.[69] When he, thereafter, refers to the clustering of *uyirmey*, it may mean either the clustering of vowels with consonants, or the clustering of syllabic letters. In whatever

67. TE *sūtra* 82
68. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūrāvaḷi* p. 71
69. "....*ivvirupāṉ mayakku moḻiyiṭai mēvum uyirmey mayakk aḷaviṉṟē*"

sense it is taken, this need not be restricted to the middle of a word. That is why Naṉṉūl does not make the term *moḻi-viṭai* "middle of a word" applicable to this kind of clustering. But for uniformity sake IV makes this *sūtra* as referring to the medial distribution of sounds. The other occurrences are implied by the extra phrase *tēruṅkālai*. It is difficult to understand what ambiguity is avoided by this strained interpretation.

2.1.144 About the *sūtra* which states about *maka-ra-k-kuṟukkam*: Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 65 about *makara-k-kuṟukkam*[70] corresponds to 34 in IV. In the first line instead of *ṉaṇamuṉ* we have *ṉaṇavoṭu*. If *makaram* is the subject it cannot by itself become two consonants. That is why IV has *ṉaṇavoṭu* which gives the meaning "along with another consonant it may help to form a cluster". IV also omits the word *naintu* because that has been already stated in *sūtra* 22. As pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ with reference to /ai/ and /au/ etc., there is so much of repetition in IV.

2.1.145 About the *sūtra* 96 in *Naṉṉūl*: In *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* IV *sūtra* 53 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 96. Naṉṉūl uses the words in the singular form *taṉṉoṭum piṟitoṭum*. The idea was that in *sandhi*, there is one immediate constituent coming with another immediate constituent. But because the plural noun *pataṅkaḷ* has been used in Naṉṉūl[71] IV has *tammoṭum piṟavoṭum*. This seems to be grammaticalness with a vengeance. One may purposely misunderstand IV and say that it is not referring to any one *sandhi*.

70. "*laḷa mey tirinta ṉaṇamuṉ makāram*
naintī roṟṟāñ ceyyuḷuḷḷē"

71. "*meyyuyir mutalī ṟāṟu pataṅkaḷum*
taṉṉoṭum piṟitoṭu malvaḻi...."

IV *sūtra* 56 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 99 which states about *vikāras*. IV adds the words *oṟṟu, uyir, uyirmey* and *cāriyai* specifying the letters and morphemes which will undergo change.

2.1.15 CHANGES IN THE WORDINGS.

IV 59 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 89. Naṉṉūl speaks of the *cāriyais* enumerated as *potu-c-cāriyai* as occurring within a word or within a compound. Instead of that compound noun, IV has *cāriyai moḻiyē* probably emphasising that the letters /*a*/, /*u*/, /*ai*/ etc., are really *iṭaiccol* or words rather than letters.

IV 61 which treats about the *cāriyais* corresponds to Naṉṉūl 188. But it adds an extra line *aṉaiyavai terital aṟivōr kaṭaṉē* "that is the duty of the learned to know this." This is because the *sūtra* enumerates three possibilities and the environment for each of these should be learnt through the learned.

Tolkāppiyam 142 and 143 have been summarised in Naṉṉūl 391 in *potuviyal*. But IV prefers quoting Tolkāppiyam in *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* itself. TE 144, is IV 62; TE 143 is IV 63. Instead of 149 in Naṉṉūl IV prefers to quote TE 139 following the commentators as already stated, that *kuṟṟiya-lukaram* behaves like a consonant. *Sūtra* 109 in Naṉṉūl is not followed in IV 65 and it follows TE 106 and 444. We have already commented on the difference.

2.1.151 About the glide: The *sūtra* about glide is 107 in Naṉṉūl, and it is quoted in full in IV 68. But IV adds another line from TE 141. When the coming in of the glide

has become compulsory in the age of IV and Naṉṉūl, there is no meaning in saying that the glide is not compulsory. This is a slavish imitation of Tolkāppiyam.

2.1.152 No-change rule: Naṉṉūl 103 which states the general *sandhi* is quoted in IV 69. But it adds at the end of the *sūtra*, Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 146. [we have already explained Naṉṉūl when comparing it with Tolkāppiyam with reference to Tolkāppiyam 146].

2.1.153 *potu-p-peyar* etc.: Naṉṉūl 104 which deals with *potuppeyar*, *uyartiṇaippeyar* corresponds to IV 71. Naṉṉūl has three statements; [1] that certain endings which will change do not change [2] that certain plosives which will double when coming after certain endings do not double and [3] the *uyartiṇai* nouns undergo certain changes. The first statement is the exception to the change which belongs to and pertain to the first word in the *sandhi*. The second belongs to the alterations occurring in the second word of a *sandhi*. This distinction is forgotten by IV. It seems that the first statement refers to the consonantal endings and the second to the vowel endings. Therefore it omits /y/ and /r/ in the second statement. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ points out this defect. The endings /y/ and /r/ and /ḻ/ inspire a change in the coming word. They do not belong to the consonantal endings which undergo any change. That is why they cannot be included under the first statement.

2.1.154 *muṉṉilai* **and** *ēval*: Naṉṉūl 106 corresponds to 73 in IV and IV follows Naṉṉūl in differentiating *muṉṉilai* and *ēval*. Otherwise it follows Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 152 and also quotes Tolkāppiyam 153.

2.1.155 Changes in the second case sign: The changes which occur in relation to the second case sign are mentioned in Naṉṉūl 200. But IV prefers to quote Tolkāppiyam 158.

2 1.156 -V~-C+*tammiṉākiya toḻiṉ moḻi*: Naṉṉūl 201 corresponds to IV 76. Instead of the predicate *ākum* used in Naṉṉūl, IV has *āvaṉavuḷa* probably the plural is expected to avoid the ambiguity of one and the same plosive in one and the same place undergoing the optional rule or no-change rule.

2.1.16 *urupu puṇariyal.*

Naṉṉūl has relegated [1] all occurrences of *cāriyais* [2] enumeration of *cāriyais* and [3] the exceptional usages with reference to *vēṟṟumai* getting a *cāriyai* to *urupu puṇariyal* and mentions only the other general rules in the first part of *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.* But IV speaks in *urupu-p-puṇariyal* only of the subject matter of *sūtras* found in *urupiyal* in Tolkāppiyam and includes all the rest mentioned in Tolkāppiyam *puṇariyal* in the *sūtras* occurring at the beginning of the *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.*

2.1.161 About /*i*/ **and** /*ai*/ **endings and about the demonstratives:** Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 121 about the *sandhi* of /*i*/ and /*ai*/ endings corresponds IV 77. But IV prefers quoting Tolkāppiyam 159. Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 165 has been omitted by Naṉṉūl as made clear already. But IV quotes Tolkāppiyam 165.

Naṉṉūl 108 corresponds to IV 80, but in the last line it has introduced certain alterations. Naṉṉūl has *niḷiṉ*

yakaramum tōṉṟutal neṟiyē. Therefore it assumes the lengthening of the demonstrative base without mentioning it as a rule. IV has *nīṭalum yakaram nilāvalum.* It is clear here that the lengthening is mentioned as a rule.

2.1.162 **The consonantal endings getting** */i/* **in** *sandhi* **etc.** Naṉṉūl 151, 153 are combined in IV 81. Because as far as the */ṉ/* ending is concerned, both */u/* and */a/* could occur. It states 'that the learned who know the particulars and definite environments say so'.[72]

2.1.17 *Vēṟṟumai* AND *alvaḻi:*

What might have been Tolkāppiyar's conception of *vēṟṟumai* and *alvaḻi* had been already discussed. It was also pointed out how the commentators had understood those two conceptions. For one thing *vēṟṟumai-p-puṇarcci* in Tolkāppiyam refers to the compounds where the case signs are not manifested but where their grammatical meaning is present. The case signs are treated separately as *iṭaiccol* when the nouns with which they are combined, form declensional themes or stems by undergoing certain changes which consists mainly in taking the *cāriyais.* These will be instances of *urupu puṇarcci* according to Tolkāppiyar. By the time of Naṉṉūl the case sign and the noun which takes the case sign have become one unit; they were looked upon as one single word even before that age. Therefore Naṉṉūl speaks of *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* and *vēṟṟumai-t-toṭar.*[73] The former will be *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* or *vēṟṟumai* according to Tolkāppiyam. The latter is also used in the sense of Tolkāppiyam by Naṉṉūl and

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72. "*cevviti ṉavviya ṟeriyuṅ kālē*"
73. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 97; It uses the word *tokānilai* also; see *sūtra* 319.

IV. But Naṉṉūl is not clear whether it is talking of *tokai* or not in *sūtra* 97. IV definitely states that it is *vēṟṟumai-t-taḻuvu toṭar*. That interpretation cannot be correct even when IV does note quote from Tolkāppiyam.[74] The commentary on IV makes it clear that it includes both *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* and *vēṟṟumai viri* under the term *vēṟṟumai-t-taḻuvu toṭar*. Coming to *alvaḻi*, IV differs from Naṉṉūl. Naṉṉūl includes all non-declensional compounds under *alvaḻi*. If IV had restricted *alvaḻi* to non-compounds it might have been consistant, though that definition also may not apply even to its own *sūtras*. It includes all the phrase constructions mentioned by Naṉṉūl and also all the compounds except *viṉai-t-tokai*, *paṇpu-t-tokai* and *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai*.[75] In excluding the first two, he is following Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar who relies on Tolkāppiyam *sūtra*.[76] Tolkāppiyar finds it difficult to divide *viṉai-t-tokai* and *paṇpu-t-tokai* as already explained. Therefore he treats them as single words. Since they are not considered as two words no question of *sandhi* arises in Tolkāppiyam with reference to these. Tolkāppiyar no where mentions in *eḻuttatikāram* about the division of words into morphs and morphemes. He therefore does not deal with internal *sandhi*. One of the contributions of Naṉṉūl to Tamil morphology is, that he has clarified the division of words into morphemes differentiated and contrasted by their different distribution and different grammatical meanings. As this thesis is restricted to the phonological study of the languace, it is not necessary to go into the details of this aspect of morphology, though the chapter on this aspect is included in *eḻuttatikāram*

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74. See IV 93, 96 etc.
75. IV *sūtra* 54
76. TE *sūtra* 482

in Naṉṉūl. But it has to be stated that *sandhi* also depends in many instances on syntax, it is only the phonological aspect involved therein. The rules of such phonological changes are also applicable to the *puṇarcci* or *sandhi* of morphemes. It is this that Naṉṉūl makes very clear in *pataviyal* and also in the *puṟanaṭai* at the end of these *sandhi* rules. IV slavishly follows Naṉṉūl in all these instances. Therefore it deals with internal *sandhi* as against Tolkāppiyar. As Civañāṉacuvāmikal points out, if one treats of *sandhi* rules with reference to morphemes one has to treat of the two morphs forming into the *viṉai-t-tokai* and *paṇpu-t-tokai.*[77]

Again, in an agglutinative language like Tamil, it is difficult to differentiate absolutely the derived words and compounds. That was Tolkāppiyar's difficulty. There were border line cases. One could definitely recognise and identify the *irupeyaroṭṭu* the compounds where two nouns combine. In *viṉai-t-tokai*, probably he found it difficult to differentiate the forms like *tiritarum* and *tirikaruvi.* In *paṇpu-t-tokai* really so called, the first unit consists of a bound form which he probably found difficult to explain in terms of *sandhi.* But *veṟṟumai-t-tokai*, *ummai-t-tokai* etc., are also *irupeyar oṭṭu.* He has no difficulty with them. But in a later age *cārai-p-pāmpu* "a kind of snake" etc., also come to be looked upon as *irupeyar-oṭṭu-p-paṇpu-t-tokai*. If *paṇpu-t-tokai* in this way included these instances as well, how can IV omit *paṇput-t-tokai* in this *sūtra.* All instances of the doubling of the initial plosive occurs in *alvaḻi* mostly in these *paṇpu-t-tokai.*

It may be said that *aṉmoḻittokai* is not different from other *tokais*, in its formation; but its meaning is different

77. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* p. 74.

from similar forms when not occurring as *a<u>n</u>moḻi-t-tokai*. Perhaps it has to be tolerated as something, like *ākupeyar* or figure of speech, the only difference being that *a<u>n</u>moḻi-t-tokai* is a compound whilst *ākupeyar* is a single word.

Therefore Civañā<u>n</u>acuvāmikaḷ is justified in his criticisms against IV as far as these aspects of the problems are concerned.[78]

With reference to the occurrence of the *urupu* after the nouns IV prefers to quote Tolkāppiyam 117 rather than quoting Na<u>nn</u>ūl 186.

2.1.18 *Sandhi:*

2.1.181 *uyiri<u>rr</u>upu-p-puṇariyal:*

2.1.181.1 About the environment in *sandhi*. From IV 82 onwards the *sandhi* rules are being stated in the order of the endings. The general rule beautifully summarised in 110 in Na<u>nn</u>ūl is given as IV 82 where the second line alone differs from that of Na<u>nn</u>ūl. For one thing, the environment is definitely described in IV whilst Na<u>nn</u>ūl is silent. Na<u>nn</u>ūl makes it clear that this rule applies to a majority of cases not mentioned specifically in the subsequent *sūtras*. This is not made clear in IV.

2.1.181.2 About the changes occurring in the words denoting trees: Na<u>nn</u>ūl 111 deals with names of trees and lays down the coming in of the homorganic nasal in *vē<u>rr</u>umai sandhi*. But the corresponding *sūtra* 83 in IV beautifully summarises the Tolkāppiyam rules which lay down [1] the

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78. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cū<u>r</u>āvaḷi* pp. 87 and 88.

doubling of the plosive [2] the coming in of the homorganic nasal [3] the coming in of *cāriyai* and [4] the optional variations from these. But the environment for these varying rules are not made clear.

2.1.181.3 About *cāva*: Naṉṉūl 113 deals with the word *cāva* standing as *cā*. IV 85 which corresponds to Naṉṉūl 114 makes it clear that this form is an *eccam*, because the form *cāva* may also occur as a *viyaṅkōḷ* where there is no such change.

2.1.181.4 About *viḷi-p-peyar*. Naṉṉūl 116 and 105 about some /ā/ ending words are summarised as IV 89. IV does not mention however *viḷi-p-peyar* "vocative" because it has mentioned it in a different *sūtra*.[79] It neither follows Naṉṉūl nor Tolkāppiyam. If it wanted to follow Tolkāppiyam it ought to have had a separate *iyal* for the general rules without including them under *uyiriṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* as pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.[80]

2.1.181.5 About *nī*: *Sūtra* 123 in Naṉṉūl which deals with /ī/ ending words corresponds to 93 in IV. But he omits from Naṉṉūl the word *nī* because as pointed out by the commentary, it is covered by the general rule 71 corresponding to Naṉṉūl 104.

2.1.181.6 About *āppi*. Naṉṉūl 122 corresponds to IV 94. The difference is that IV omits *aṉaittum vara* found in Naṉṉūl. As the commentary on IV points out this form *āppi* will occur even when no other words follow as in *sandhi*. Therefore this change belongs to the *nilai moḻi* "standing

79. In *sūtra* 72.

80. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* pp. 76, 77 etc.

word". This shortening occurs according to the commentary in *vēṟṟumai*. But this is not clear because in the examples given the shortening occurs even in *alvaḻi*.

2.1.181.7 About *mūṉṟu, āṟu urupu*: IV 95 corresponds to 124 Naṉṉūl. But it omits *mūṉṟāṟurupu* for which there is the *sūtra* at the end of *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.*[81] Though IV includes *vēṟṟumai viri* under *vēṟṟumai-t-taḻuvu toṭar*, as pointed out elsewhere, it uses the term *vēṟṟumai* only with reference to *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai*. Therefore it has got a separate *sūtra* for *vēṟṟumai viri*.

2.1.181.8 About *atai*: Further IV 95 includes also what is stated in Naṉṉūl 125. But it prefers quoting Tolkāppiyam 259 which gives further the rule for *atai* which Naṉṉūl has omitted.

2.1.181.9 **Specific environment**: IV 96 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 145 which deals with the word *pū*. But it adds an additional line. By this IV specifies that the rule applies to *vēṟṟumai*.

2.1.181.10 **About the short vowels.** IV 97 and 98 are quotations from Tolkāppiyam 273 and 274 respectively. Naṉṉūl has omitted them because they relate to the short vowels occurring with *aḷapeṭai* which it does not consider them as separate sounds. Since IV differs from Naṉṉūl the former prefers to quote these Tolkāppiyam *sūtras*.

2.1.181.11 About *ēḻ*: 106 in IV corresponds to 133 in Naṉṉūl which deals with numerals. The only difference is that since IV following Tolkāppiyam, considers *ēḻ*, the word for seven, as ending in a consonant, it does not mention *ēḻu* in *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal*.

81. *sūtra* 118.

2.1.181.12 About numerals: IV 111 which lays down the rule for the number *eṭṭu* corresponds to Naṉṉūl 138. But the former is a quotation from Tolkāppiyam 444. IV 112 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 139, but is much more specific and clearer than Naṉṉūl.

IV 113 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 140 which deals with *orupatu* etc. The only difference is that Naṉṉūl speaks of *mutaliru nāṉkām eṉ* whilst IV is much more specific in saying *oṉru mutal eṭṭiṟṟeṉ.*

IV 114 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 141. IV differs from Naṉṉūl because it metions both the forms *orupatu* and *orupa°°tu* which results from the operation of the IV corresponding to *sūtra* 140 in Naṉṉūl. It states that the rule 113 will not apply with reference to the cases mentioned in 114; i.e. the medial consonant /*t*/ in *pattu* will undergo no change and will remain in the original form. Naṉṉūl will however state that the *āytam* which comes under Naṉṉūl rule 140 will be changed into /*t*/. Naṉṉūl is not specific about *orupatu*.

IV 117 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 144. But since it omits *ēḻ* as a consonantal ending it speaks of *ōreṭṭum* instead of *oṉpatu*. But IV has forgotten to mention the rule for *ēḻ* when it doubles even in the *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.*

IV 118 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 124 and we have while discussing IV 95 referred to this change in the arrangement. It will be seen that all the other *sūtras* not here discussed are merely quotations from Naṉṉūl.

2.1.19 *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.*

2.1.19.1 Changes from *Naṉṉūl*: Coming to *meyyīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* there are only eight *sūtras* in IV differing

from Naṉṉūl whilst the other *sūtras* are quotations from Naṉṉūl.

2.1.19.11 **About** *tēṉ* **"honey"** IV 124 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 159. But IV prefers to summarise the rules found in Tolkāppiyam quoting Tolkāppiyam 341 and 345. Naṉṉūl specifically mentions about the environment i.e. where the following word is a nasal and where the final letter is lost; if the plosive occurs in addition to this loss, there is the coming in of a homorganic nasal. Naturally the consonants mentioned generally in Naṉṉūl should have to be interpreted as the plosive. IV specifically states that the loss of the final letter in *tēṉ* is optional. IV also provides for the form *tēttiṟaḷ* which could not have been in current use during the time of IV. As usual it prefers to follow Tolkāppiyam even then the usage has changed

2.1.19.12 **About** *ūṉ*: IV 126, corresponds to Naṉṉūl 161; but omits the word *ūṉ*. Following Tolkāppiyam it takes /*ū*/ as the basic form and therefore omits to mention the form /*ūṉ*/ accepted by Naṉṉūl In the result it prefers to quote Tolkāppiyam 336 as its *sūtra* 126.

2.1.19.13 **About** *miṉ*, *piṉ*, **etc.** IV 127 which lays down the rule for the words *miṉ*, *piṉ*, etc., corresponds to Naṉṉūl 162. IV prefers to follow Tolkāppiyam 347 which prescribes the doubling rule. Naṉṉūl following Iḷampūraṇar mentions only the optional rule. But IV mentions this only impliedly as is made clear in its commentary.

2.1.19.14 **About** *aḻaṉ*: Naṉṉūl has omitted to mention Tolkāppiyam 355 which lays down the rule for the word *aḻaṉ* because that was no longer a current usage. But IV as usual prefers to quote this *sūtra* as 128.

2.1.19.15 About */m/* **ending:** IV 129 which lays down the rules for */m/* ending corresponds to Naṉṉūl 164. There is an additional word *piṟa* at the end of IV 129 to cover impliedly the Tolkāppiyam rules not specifically stated. Naṉṉūl has omitted them because they were no longer current.

2.1.19.16 About *ēḻ:* Since IV like Tolkāppiyar takes the word for seven as ending in a consonant, it has to provide rule for that word in *meyyiṟṟu-p-puṇariyal.* Therefore it summarises Tolkāppiyam 389 and 390 as IV 136.

2.1.19.17 *nel, cel* **etc.:** IV 140 which lays down the rule for the words *nel*, *cel*, *kol* and *col* corresponds to Naṉṉūl 177. But it prefers to quote Tolkāppiyam 372.

2.1.19.18 About the demonstrative bases */av/*, */iv/* **etc.:** IV 144 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 180. The only difference is that IV adds the word *alvaḻi* at the end. But Naṉṉūl has omitted that word because for *vēṟṟumai* it has prescribed the */aṟṟu/ cāriyai* elsewhere. It is certainly an advantage to be specific.

2.1.20 *Urupu puṇariyal.*

Coming to the last *iyal* i.e. *urupu puṇariyal* there are only four *sūtras* which differ from Naṉṉūl whilst the others are quotations therefrom.

IV 148 which lays down the rule for the case signs corresponds to Naṉṉūl 187. But it summarises the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* in one line. Naṉṉūl has omitted Tolkāppiyam 174 and 175 because they were no longer of frequent use. But IV prefers to follow Tolkāppiyam and quotes Tolkāppiam as 149

and 150 with necessary changes; for whilst Tolkāppiyam considers /vaṟṟu/ as the *cāriyai* IV along with Naṉṉūl considers /aṟṟu/ as the *cāriyai*. IV is not uniform, as already stated, in following Tolkāppiyam. As Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ points out, that no where IV mentions the coming in of /u/ which it says will disappear in the *iraṇṭām vēṟṟumai-c-canti*. So also it forgets its own statement that the final nasals become homorganic nasals. But in some cases this nasal is lost and the plosive doubles. But in the *sūtra* relating to the accusative case this is not the way in which it explains. Tolkāppiyam states that in such cases the nasal is lost and the homorganic nasal comes in or the plosive doubles. As pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ in the accusative case *sūtra* IV against its own principles quotes the Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* without introducing the necessary changes.[82]

IV 156 corresponds to Naṉṉūl 196. The coming in of the /aṉ/ *cāriyai* is stated impliedly through what is called *nipāda* or *uṭampoṭupuṇarttal*. IV prefers to be specific and therefore prefers quoting Tolkāppiyam 201 as its 156.

2.1.21

One may now consider the criticisms [other than those which have been already discussed] levelled against IV by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.

With reference to IV which st ates that no rules need be given for foreign words Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ points out that since foreign words which have become Tamilised occur in literature it is not proper to say that no *sandhi* rule should be laid down for them.[83]

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82. *Ilakkaṇa viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* p. 78.
83. Ibid p. 72.

For the heading of the chapter *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* the commentary on IV gives the meaning which is possible of being understood in the following way. *uyirīṟṟuppatam niṉṟu varumoḻi nāṟkaṇattoṭu puṇarum iyalpu uyirīṟu* meaning *uyirīṟṟuppatam* will become the subject of the verb *puṇar*. Such a subject - predicate construction will not lead to the doubling of /ṟ/ as pointed out by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ will take this *uyirīṟṟu* as being in the locative significance. *uyirīṟṟuppuṇar* is for *uyirīṟṟuppuṇarcci* and may be a genitive construction which will mean the *puṇarcci* or *sandhi* pertaining to the words ending in vowels.[84]

oru moḻi muvaḻi-k-kuṟaitalum aṉaittē. This *sūtra* of Naṉṉūl is quoted in IV. According to the commentary on IV even though the shortening occurs in a word either in the beginning or in the middle or at the end, the shortened word will give the full meaning. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ however points out that this reduction in the form of a word will occur either at the beginning or in the middle or at the end in phrases and compounds. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ has not made his position clear.[85]

IV *sūtra* 59 enumerates the *cāriyais* and it is a quotation from Naṉṉūl. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ tries to distinguish Naṉṉūl from IV while interpreting the first line of the Naṉṉūl *sūtra* viz. *aṉṉāniṉṉallaṟṟu* instead of taking *aṉ* + *āṉ* + *iṉ* + *al* + *aṟṟu* he takes the last two there as *nal* + *aṟṟu*, *nal* qualifying *aṟṟu*. This is because he feels that /*al*/ is not a *cāriyai*. The example given by the commentator is *toṭaiyal* where the root

84. Ibid

85. Ibid p. 75.

is *toṭu* and the suffix is /*ai*/. Since for the verbal noun /*ai*/ is enough /*-al*/ serves no purpose and this /*-al*/ is a *cāriyai*. But Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ asserts that this /*-al*/ is a suffix. If that was so, he must explain what is the status of /*ai*/. To take the /*al*/ as /*nal*/ he has to attempt a strange interpretation to the Naṉṉūl *sūtra*. That is why he has not attempted to revise the commentary by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar who also takes the /*-al*/ as *cāriyai*.

Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ objects to the last line found in IV 61 which amounts to giving this line as explaining exceptions. Since IV deals with the *cāriyais* separately at a later portion of the book according to Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ it is not justifiable to give the exceptions to the rules in these *sūtras*, for, this will amount to giving exceptions to rules not yet stated.[86]

Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ also objects to IV 69 etc., giving general rules where words ending in consonants are also included within the chapter which specifically deals with the words ending in vowels.[87]

He takes objections to the commentary on IV for including and explaining number, name etc., in *eḻuttatikāram* as *puṟappuṟakkaruvi*. He had already explained that the discussion on number etc., are not necessary. He also feels that the division of *karuvi* and *ceykai* into four different kinds is not proper.[88]

86. Ibid p. 76.
87. Ibid
88. Ibid p. 79.

2.2 COMMENTARIES ON NAṈṈŪL

2.2.0 INTRODUCTION

The importance of the study of the various commentators is that by their interpretations they fill up the lacuna found in Naṉṉūl and in that way they make the work not only upto date but also more and more accurate and perfect. It is because of this kind of perfection that Naṉṉūl has achieved its superiority thanks to these commentators. The modern estimation therefore should not stop with this. But it must be also taken into consideration the tradition which the commentators built around the text. There was a time when there was a clouded atmosphere around the study of Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyam came to be eclipsed by the study of Avinayam. Then Tolkāppiyam studies were restored by the commentators like Iḷamprūaṇar. But by the time of Naṉṉūl, Tolkāppiyam has established itself as a great authority. But on account of the changed conditions Naṉṉūl had to accept the views of other schools of thought. As time passed Tolkāppiyam became more and more important. Mayilainātar has great veneration for Tolkāppiyar, Avinayaṉār, Iḷampūraṇar and for Pallavataraiyar, the great commentator on Avinayam. Slowly Tolkāppiyam came to be considered as the greatest authority and that is why the commentators are trying to interpret Naṉṉūl in terms of Tolkāppiyam even when one may feel that Naṉṉūl has left out many rules because they were no longer of any use in his times. As time went on Tolkāppiyam has become the Bible of the Tamil Grammarians who were all in a similar way trying to make Tolkāppiyam as self consistent or conclusive, proving that it

is for all ages and trying further to show the theories of other grammarians are not of equal validity. We see such attempts made not only by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyār, Naccinārkkiṉyar, Teyvaccilaiyār and Kallāṭar who wrote commentaries on Tolkāppiyam but also by others like Vaittiyanātar, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar and Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ who did not write continuous commentaries on Tolkāppiyam. This later group also saw that Naṉṉūl was becoming more and more popular and they therefore interpret Naṉṉūl in such a way so as to make it a great authority next to Tolkāppiyam. They just tried by all reasonable means not only by taking hold of all the possibilities of various syntactic structures existing in Naṉṉūl, but also the various conventional methods of interpretation which were followed by earlier commentators for interpreting *sūtras*, so as to give interpretations which will be in accord with Tolkāppiyam and in accord with modern usage and which will give the most satisfactory theory of the grammatical structure of the Tamil Languagc. These conventions continued to be powerful even in the modern age and in that way taken into consideration upon in our evaluation of Naṉṉūl.

The following remarks show the great regard which these writers have on Naṉṉūl.

1. "*muṉṉū loḻiya-p- piṉṉūl palaviṉuḷ Naṉṉūlār tamakku ennūlārum iṇaiyō veṉṉun tuṇivē maṉṉuka*"[1]
2. "*kaiyaṟiyā mākkaṭkaṉṟi nūliyaṟṟum aṟiviṉaiyuṭaiya makkaṭku-p- palkalai-k- kuṟicil Pavaṇanti eṉṉum pulavar perumāṉ pukaḻpōla viḷaṅki niṟṟalāṉ*"[2]

1. Cuvāminata Tēcikar, *Ilakkaṇa-k-kottu*, under *sūtra* 8.
2. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 82.

It is because of this glowing tradition that one has to consider in detail the commentaries on Naṉṉūl. It has been necessary to find out the sources of Naṉṉūl, in the commentaries of an age anterior to Naṉṉūl for finding out how far Naṉṉūl is original in its grammatical theories and in the organisation of the grammatical principles which make it an authoritative grammar of Tamil Language. In the result this evaluation of Naṉṉūl, thus necessitated a complete survey of the grammatical literature about *eḻuttatikāram* in Tamil. The elaborate discussions which had been offered have thus been made necessary for finding out how far Naṉṉūl owed its greatness to his ancestors and how far it owes its greatness to subsequent generations of grammarians.

2.2.1 MAYILAINĀTAR'S COMMENTARY ON NAṈṈŪL

2.2.1.1. AGE.

Mayilainātar's commentary on Naṉṉūl is the earliest among the commentaries thereon now available to us. But as pointed out by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, in his introduction, this commentator refers perhaps to prior commentaries on Naṉṉūl because he uses the words "*uraippārum uḷar*" and "*kūṟuvārum uḷar*" 'there are also others who state thus'. But the learned editor points out that since Mayilainātar praises *Cīyakaṅkaṉ* and quotes a verse in another place referring to *Kaṅka*, he must have been a contemporary of *Cīyakaṅkaṉ* or his powerful descendants. But it is very difficult to prove conclusively this statement. He refers only, among the commentators, Iḷampūraṇar. It is true that there are certain statements found in the present commentary which are also found in Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary on Tolkāppiyam.

2.2.1.2 ECHOES FROM *Naccinārkkiṉiyar's* COMMENTARY:

See Mayilainātar's commentary on *sūtra* 6 on page 34 and Naccinārkkiṉiyar's on Tolkāppiyam on p. 39. '*uyir-akaramum uyirmey akaramum eṉa iraṇṭu*'. See page 39 in Mayilainātar and page 313 in Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary '*itaṉai ēḷeṉṟu koḷvārkku-p-piṇṇākku, cuṇṇāmpu, āmaṇakku, mutaliyaṉa muṭiyāmai uṇarka*'. See Mayilainātar's commentary on p. 51 and Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary p.99. "*vaṭṭam, kuṭṭam etc., 'ivai pōlvaṉa mayaṅkātaṉa*". Mayilainātar has *paṭām*; but Naccinārkkiṉiyar's commentary has *pāṭam*, perhaps it must have been *paṭām* or *māṭam* as in

Mayilainātar's commentary. There are again places where Naccinārkkiniyar's views are criticised by Mayilainātar without any mention of the former's name. Mayilainātar in his commentary on Nannūl 184 refers to *arumaruntān* etc., as being examples for *marūu.* He however adds that there are others who will explain them away as due to *valittal mutalāna vikāram.* But these need not prove that Mayilainatar is referring to Naccinārkkiniyar. It may be that both Naccinārkkiniyar and Mayilainātar are following another grammarian whose work is not now available. This may be true of cases where Mayilainātar is criticising what appears to be now available only in Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary. That Naccinārkkiniyar's is later than Nannūl is clear from his commentary on Tolkāppiyam *eccaviyal* where by referring to *pinnuḷḷōr* "people of later age" he is clearly referring to Pavaṇanti and the Nannūl *sūtra* 81.

2.2.1.3 AUTHORITIES FOR *Nannūl*

Mayilainātar is familiar with the earlier authorities whom we have discussed earlier. The following table makes this position clear.

Commentary of Mayilainātar Page No. and line No.	Source
page 20 - lines 1 to 5.	Iḷam. p.6 and Nacci. under TE. *sūtra* 1.
page 20 - line 5	YV. p.18.
" " 6	Nacci. p.25.
" " 8, 9	Iḷam. p.6

page 20 – lines 14, 15, & 16		YV. p.11
page 20	,, 20, 21 & 22	,, p.12 and 15.
page 21	,, 7, 8 & 9	,, p.12
,,	,, 17, 18	,, p.12
page 22	,, 10, 11 & 12	,, p.535
page 24	,, 22	Nacci. p.32
page 41	,, 16	Caṅkayāppu- YV. p.27
page 42 – last two		YV. pp.43, 45.
page 45 –	,, 20, 21	Iḷam. p. 8 and Nacci. p. 39

2.2.1.4 NO BOOK OF CONTROVERSY.

We have attempted to trace the sources for many of the statements in Naṉṉūl. By the time of Mayilainātar, Tolkāppiyar's statements have become the authority and were probably eclipsing the other views. Therefore, to those followers of Tolkāppiyam some of the statements in Naṉṉūl must have appeared unauthoritative from this point of view. Mayilainātar in such places points out to other authorities like Avinayam.

2.2.1.41 *etir nūl*. This anxiety of Mayilainātar for finding out the authorities for Naṉṉūl may be understood better if we realise the importance of his refercnce to *etirnūl* in his commentary on *sūtra* 8. Probably in an age of controversies such as the one preceding the Yāpparuṅkala Virutti a species of controversial book called *etirnūl* came into prominence, perhaps, criticising another book for the only purpose of criticising and no more, as for instance, like some of the criticisms levelled against Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ at a later date. In such a work every statement

of criticism should not be taken at its face value and such a book therefore loses its value as an authoritative statement. Any book therefore has to be proved that it does not come under the category of *etirnūl*. The statement *viḷampiṉar pulavar* occurring in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 8 is relied upon by Mayilaiṉātar to show and to emphasise that Naṉṉūl is following the opinions of the ancient authorities and therefore it is not an *etirnūl*.

2.2.1.42 Departure from ***Tolkāppiyam.***

2.2.1.421 Implicit:

2.2.1.4211 *eḻuttu*: By the time of Mayilaiṉātar, the word *eḻuttu* has come to mean the script form. His explanation *eḻutappaṭutalin eḻuttu* is a broken quotation from a *sūtra* referred to in *Yāpparuṅkala virutti.*[3] Naṉṉūl begins the *eḻuttiyal* with a prayer, a procedure not found in Tolkāppiyam. Here again Mayilaiṉātar in justifying Pavaṇanti refers to two *sūtras* quoted in Yāpparuṅkala virutti[4].

By the time of the commentary on YV various kinds of *eḻuttu* have come to be referred to.[5] Therefore Mayilaiṉātar raises the question as to why Naṉṉūl refers only to *oliyeḻuttu*. He has to explain therefore that *oliyeḻuttu* is more important than other *eḻuttus.*[6]

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3. YV p.18.
4. Ibid pp. 12 and 15. "*vaṇakkamatikāram eṉṟiraṇṭum colla-c-ciṟappeṉṉum pāyiramām*" and "*vaḻi paṭu teyvavaṇakkañ ceytu, maṅkala moḻimutalāka vakuttē eṭuttu-k-koṇṭa ilakkaṇa ilakkiyam, iṭukkaṇ iṉṟi iṉitu muṭiyum*".
5. YV p.535.
6. Naṉṉūl – May. Commentary p.22.

2.2.1.4212: The form *tēṉkāy* is not contemplated by Tolkāppiyar and therefore Mayilainātar has to show an authority for this. His justification is that this form occurs in usage[7].

2.2.1.4213 Again the question is raised as to what is the authority for Naṉṉūl explaining ten kinds of *cārpu* because Tolkāppiyar has stated only three. In answer he refers to the Avinayam *sūtras* which we have already discussed. Again under his commentary on *sūtra* 19 he quotes Avinayam for justifying Naṉṉūl's assertion "*moḻi mutaṟ kāraṇamām aṇuttiraḷ oli eḻuttu*".

2.2.1.4214: Under *sūtra* 47 Mayilainātar has to justify the inclusion of /*ñ*/ as an initial sound and for this he has to quote Avinayam.

In this way Mayilainātar impliedly follows at least in these places works like Avinayam rather than Tolkāppiyam. This leads us to other places in Mayilainātar's commentary where he criticises Tolkāppiyar apart from the places mentioned above where there is utmost only an implied criticism

2.2.1.43 **Explicit:**

2.2.1.431 *mutal and cārpu* : The question is raised, if there are only two categories viz., *mutal* and *cārpu* under what category *makara-k-kuṟukkam* which Tolkāppiyar does not include under *cārpu* etc., will come. His answer is, as there is no third category they have to come under *cārpu*. It will be seen that Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam actually quotes the sentence from Mayilainātar's commentary on Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 5.

7. Ibid p.100.

2.2.1.432 About */ca-/:* As against Tolkāppiyar refusing to accept */ca-/* as an initial syllable, Naṉṉūl accepts it. For this Mayilainātar quotes a *veṇpā* which gives a number of words beginning with */ca-/* which occur both in poetry and respected colloquial usage.[8] Therefore that verse concludes to assert that */ca-/* will occur initially

2.2.1.433 Initial *kuṟṟiyalukaram*: Tolkāppiyar speaks of the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* occurring initially in the word *nuntai*. As already stated, since *kuṟṟiyalukaram* is like a vowel release of a consonant, it forms part of */n/* and therefore it is said to occur initially. Since this was not realised in a later age people were surprised that Tolkāppiyar could have considered *kuṟṟiyalukaram* occurring initially, because clearly it is */n/* which occurs in the initial position in that word. Therefore there is a *sūtra* which makes fun of Tolkāppiyam.[9] It states in that case all syllabic letters should have been treated as merely vowels following Tolkāppiyar who treats */nu-/* as a vowel. In that case it is pointed out that there will be no question of any consonant occurring as the initial of the second word in any *sandhi*. As a result there will be a confusion with reference to grammatical rules. Therefore the verse concludes "remove that statement of Tolkāppiyam." These forcible *sūtras* clearly bring out the school which was opposed to Tolkāppiyam because the pronunciation has so changed as to make these people misunderstand Tolkāppiyam. It has to be said to the credit of Mayilainātar, that he does

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8. Ibid p.45.

9. Ibid; "*nuntai y-ukaraṅ kuṟuki moḻi mutaṟkaṉ vanta teṉiṉuyirmey y-āmaṉaittuñ- canti-k-kuyir mutalā vantaṉaiyu meyppuṇarcci y-iṉṟi mayalaṉaiyu m-eṉṟataṉai māṟṟu*"

not elaborate this point but only adds *ivarrai viritturaittu vitiyum vilakkum arintukolka.*[10] "elaborate these and discern for yourself the rules and the exceptions".

2.2.1.434 *plūta*: Nannūl as already pointed out, admits the existence of *plūta*, as against Tolkāppiyam looking upon this *uyiralapetai* as a vowel cluster. Mayilainātar has to admit that Nannūl brushes aside the view of a cluster. He further points out that Tolkāppiyam is defective. "Whenever as *eluttu* is mentioned. its sound, its script form, its place of occurrence and its *māttirai* have to be mentioned without fail". This is the substance of a *sūtra* quoted by Mayilainātar[11] in his commentary on *sūtra* 36. Probably it is from *Avinaya-p-puranatai*. If there is the vowel cluster, Mayilainātar points out, that there is no separate script for this *plūta* according to Tolkāppiyam. Tolkāppiyar's *sūtra* will give only the sound, the place of occurrence and the *māttirai* and not the particular symbol as in Nannūl for showing that this is *plūta*.

2.2.1.435 **Free Variation**: Tolkāppiyar mentions at the end of *molimarapu* that there is a free variation of /m/ and /n/ at the end of *a:rinai* words of more than two letters except in some nine words. But Nannūl uses the phrase *uralā natappana ula.*[12] From this Mayilainātar concludes that majority of *a:rinai* words do not follow this variation. To explain this difference between Tolkāppiyam and Nannūl Mayilainātar points out that since more than the nine words

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10. Ibid
11. "*eluttuk kuriyita māttirai nānkum*
    valukkātu vaikka vakuttu"
12. Nannūl *sūtra* 67

(also pointed out in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary) do not undergo any free variation, Tolkāppiyar's statement is wrong.[13] In fairness he must have added, that Tolkāppiyam is no longer valid for a subsequent age because new words which do not follow Tolkāppiyar's rules are coming into the language.

2.2.1.436 *marūu:* Naṉṉūl has no corresponding *sūtras* to Tolkāppiyam 348-352. Mayilainātar includes them under *marūu* mentioned in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 184. He refers to the view of Tolkāppiyam without mentioning its name by the following words *āntai mutalāṉavaṟṟai ilakkaṇa moḻikaḷāka vēṟeṭuttu muṭippar uḷar* "there are people who explain *āntai* etc., as grammatical usages."

2.2.1.5 *Mayilainātar's* CRITICISM ON OTHER AUTHORS:

2.2.1.51 About *cuṇṇāmpu*: One may next turn to his criticism of other authors. Naṉṉūl follows Tolkāppiyam with reference to the varieties of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and does not follow Avinayam, which as already stated is being followed by Yāpparuṅkala virutti etc. To justify the position taken by Naṉṉūl, Mayilainātar points out that *cuṇṇāmpu* "lime" etc. cannot come under the seven varieties mentioned by Avinayam.

2.2.1.52 *aukāra-k-kuṟukkam:*

Naṉṉūl accepts aukārakkuṟukkam only in the initial position, because it does not occur elsewhere according to him. Yāpparuṅkala virutti however points out that /au/

13. "....*paliyaṉ, valiyaṉ, vayāṉ, kayāṉ, alavaṉ, kaḷavaṉ, kaluḷaṉ, maṟaiyaṉ, cekilaṉ mutalāyiṉa mayaṅka-p peṟā-v-eṉa maṟukka*"

occurs both medially and finally and that in all these places /*au*/ suffers a diminution in quantity. For the medial position Yāpparuṅkala Virutti quotes phrases where /*au*/ occurs medially as in *kalleṉ kauvai*. Mayilainātar points out that in all these cases /*au*/ occurs only in the initial position in the particular words though those words may occur medially in a phrase. For the words like *antau* where /*au*/ occurs finally he says that they are of no such use. Probably he is referring to their rare usage.

2.2.1.53 *aḷapeṭai* :

With reference to aḷapeṭai, Naṉṉūl speaks only of the uyiraḷapeṭai occurring initially, medially and finally, as against the *sūtra* quoted in Yāpparuṅkala virutti[14] which includes the fourth kind of occurrence in monosyllables. Mayilaināṭar explains that the occurrence in the monosyllable can only be either an initial occurrence or a final occurrence[15].

The question arises whether Naṉṉūl is not going against the authorities of these ancient grammarians. For this Mayilaināṭar quotes a *sūtra*. Perhaps the *sūtra* quoted is from Avinayam. The reply is that a *puṭai nūl* as distinct from the primary authority or the secondary authority has necessarily to deviate from them or otherwise there is no justification for this work[16].

2.2.1.6 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN *Iḷampūraṇar's* COMMENTARY AND *Mayilaināṭar's* COMMENTARY.

The places where Mayilaināṭar differs from Iḷampūraṇar may also be mentioned. Under *sūtra* 6 Mayilaināṭar mentions

14. YV p. 23
15. Naṉṉūl, May. p. 37
16. Ibid

tokai, *vakai* and *viri*. But Iḷampūraṇar by the permutation and combination of these three, gets nine. Mayilainātar refers to this view but without mentioning Iḷampūraṇar's name. Mayilainātar's explanation for Naṉṉūl's position is that it has accepted only those which are necessary in this work[17].

As far as uyirmey is concerned it can be viewed as two sounds or as one unit. From the former point of view it will be an *ummaittokai* (dvandva samāsa) and from the latter point of view it will be *anmoḻittokai* ('bahu vrīhi'). Since *sūtra* 34 speaks of uyirmey as one unit one would have expected that Mayilainātar would have taken as *aṉmoḻittokai*, but he states that it is only *ummaittokai*.

2.2.1.7 OTHER AUTHORITIES FOLLOWED BY *Mayilainātar*:

There are other places where Mayilainātar follows other authorities. He follows Iḷampūraṇar in interpreting *atikāram* as *muṟaimai* under *sūtra* 1 and probably he refers to Iḷampūraṇar when he mentions the statement that 'there are people who speak of glide as no-change' under *sūtra* 107.

He follows Caṅka yāppu as quoted in Yāpparuṅkala virutti[18] in adding that kuṟṟiyalikaram and kuṟṟiyalukaram will get a dot. He explains as to why this diacritical mark is introduced. He points out that in places where the fully rounded /u/ and the unrounded /u/ contrast even finally, this is necessary. He gives the example *tātu* and [*h*] *ēṯu* which

17. "*iṉi, tokaivakai viriyai-t- tokai vakai viriyāṉ uṟaḷ ntu oṉputākki urai-p-pārum uḷar. ivar iṇṭai vaḻakkiṟku vēṇṭumāṟē koṇṭareṉka*". Naṉṉūl, May. p. 24

18. YV p.27

are Sanskrit words. The idea seems to be that in these foreign words the final /*u*/ is not a shorter /*u*/ whilst in native words, like the interrogative *ētu* the /*u*/ is shortened. He also gives the examples of *eṭṭu* and *kaṭṭu* each one of which can be taken as one word or two words. *eṭṭu* is eight or reach, *koṭṭu* is to strike. If taken as two words *eṭṭu* will be *eḷ+tu*, "eat the *eḷ* [gingily]" and *koṭṭu* will be *koḷ+tu* "eat the horsegram". These four examples were given for the short /*u*/ contrasting with shorter /*u*/. He gives three examples for short /*i*/ contrasting with shorter /*i*/ viz, *kuṉṟiyātu*, *nāṭiyātu* and *eṭṭiyāṇṭuḷatu* each one of them being followed in these examples by the predicate *yātu* and *uḷatu*[19]. If we take as ending shorter /*i*/ they would mean, '*what is there of the hill*', '*what is there of the country*' and '*what is there of eight years*' respectively. If it is the short /*i*/ the meaning will be '*what remains after the diminution*', '*what exists after the search* '*where that exists after having reached*'. In the former case the original words are *kuṉṟu nāṭu* and *eṭṭu* which will be nouns whilst in the latter case they will be *kuṉṟi nāṭi* and *eṭṭi* which will be verbal participles. To avoid confusion and bring out the contrast, Mayilainātar says some people insert a dot over the shorter /*u*/ and the shorter /*i*/[20]. The statement "*some people*" refers to old authors including the author of Caṅka yappu. These examples are important for showing the contrast which has developed and which therefore probably make the kuṟṟiyalukaram and kuṟṟiyalikaram phonemes.

We may also in this connection mention Mayilainātar's conception of *cārpeḻuttu*. *Mutal eḻuttu* according to him are what occur without change and by themselves; *cārpeḻuttu* are

19. Naṉṉūl, May. p.41
20. Ibid

those which become changed either when the *mutal eḻuttu* combine as probably the uyirmey or when they occur in particular positions, as probably the *āytam*, or when they in particular environments in combination with certain sounds and syllables, probably as *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *kuṟṟiyaiikaram* which occur as syllabic letters with plosives and after the plosives, nasals etc.

Naṉṉūl does not specifically state what the forty two varieties of *oṟṟaḷapetai* are. Mayilainātar points out that *āytam* will not occur finally.[21] Therefore out of the 44 positions – 11 sounds occurring after a single short syllable and a long syllable medially and finally in each of the two cases will give 44 – since *āytam* does not occur finally or medially except after a short syllable two must be subtracted to give us only 42. This position will be discussed later. But there are certain cases which are not contemplated in Naṉṉūl and which are not specifically stated. For the purpose of metre, voiced consonants are doubled, that is newly brought in. *Kuravai* becomes *kuravvai*. In words like *varaku* an *āytam* is inserted so as to give the form *varaₒ°ₒku.* If the metre still further requires it there is the *aḷapeṭai* of these consonants and *āytam*. For this, Mayilainātar quotes the authority of Māpurāṇam and gives a verse to illustrate this rule. This Māpurāṇam *sūtra* is quoted also in Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary. In this connection the question is raised as to since in *varaₒ°ₒku*, *vilaₒ°ₒki* the *āytam* occurs after two open short syllables why this positional occurrence for āytam has not been stated under *sūtra* 35 in Naṉṉūl. The answer is that *sūtra* 35 gives the rule for the natural *āytam* and not for these artificially created sounds in metre.

21. Ibid p.36

Māpurāṇam, as already stated, contemplates *o<u>r</u><u>r</u>ilvaḻi o<u>r</u><u>r</u>u*, a consonant coming in where there is no consonant. But the question is whether *āytam* is a consonant (o<u>r</u><u>r</u>u). For this Mayilainātar relies on the phrase *āyta-p-puḷḷi* used in *sūtra* 35. That phrase is specifically used to include *āytam* under the category of consonants. Here Mayilainātar follows Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on Tolkāppiyam 38. But the question then arises if it is a consonant whether it will allow another vowel to combine with it to form a syllable. Naccinārkkiniyar has stated that *āytam* is only an altered sound which does not allow the vowel to combine with it. That is the reason why Tolkāppiyar has pointed out this specific from.[22] Mayilainātar's reply however is that since *āytam* is a *cārpeḻuttu* it will not like the *mutal eḻuttu* consonant combine with the following vowel.[23] This will imply that Mayilainātar will not accept the position taken by Naccinārkkiniyar and Iḷampūraṇar that ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalukaram will behave like a consonant and form a syllabic letter with the following vowel since ku<u>r</u><u>r</u>iyalukaram is also a *cārpu* letter.

The vowels and consonants exceed the quantity prescribed for them. Tolkāppiyam mentions only music, vocative case and barter as places for such excess in quantity. Following the *sūtra* quoted in Yāpparuṅkala virutti Mayilainātar includes *nāval, mu<u>r</u>aiyīṭu, pulampu, ku<u>r</u>ippicai.*[24] As for music, Mayilainātar states, perhaps, following an old authority [*kāntaruva nūluṭaiyār*] that vowels can go upto twelve *māttirais* and the consonants upto eleven *māttirais*.[25]

22. See TE. Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary on pp. 39 and 40.
23. Nannūl, May. p. 36
24. Ibid p. 42
25. Ibid pp. 42 and 43

2.2.1.8 INTERPRETATIONS OF *Mayilainātar* FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF *Naṉṉūl.*

Mayilainātar brings out the importance of certain *sūtras* in Naṉṉūl which are otherwise not clear. He also lays down certain rules of interpretation which leads to the better understanding of the *sūtras* without leading to any contradictions. He also interprets certain *sūtras* as emphasising certain phrases and words for the better appreciation of the Naṉṉūl *sūtras.*

In *urupu puṇariyal* [under 188] he makes the important statement that *cāriyais* are to occur between the noun and the case sign and its occurrence elsewhere is not compulsory.

Sūtra 7 in Naṉṉūl divides the words into conventional or motivated as *iṭukuṟi* or *kāraṇam.* This is explained by Mayilainātar as applicable to the names of sounds.

In his commentary on *sūtra* 45, Mayilainātar tries to explain why both *imai* and *noṭi* have been stated for measuring *māttirai* because according to him *imai* is something seen and *noṭi* is something heard.

The interpretation of *sūtra* 97 where the term *vēṟṟumai* is interpreted as including both *vēṟṟumaittokai* and *vēṟṟumai viri* is probably for the purpose of justifying the inclusion of *tokai* and *viri* in the particular *sūtra.* Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam follows this explanation and the confusion resulting from this is discussed there.

One may question the relevence of *sūtra* 101 giving the *ceyyuḷ vikāram* "poetic deviations" which as the name itself shows, should be relegated to the chapter on prosody

Mayilainātar's explanation is that since the word *vikāram* had been mentioned, it is fit and proper to mention all the other kinds of *vikāram* especially when this *ceyyuḷ vikāram* occurs in the internal word *sandhi* i.e. within a word. He also points out, probably because of the procedure followed by Naccinārk-kiniyar as explained above, that these *ceyyuḷ vikārams* can also be brought under the three heads of *puṇarcci vikāram.*

He also makes a distinction between *orumoḻi mūvaḻi-k-kuṟaital* "a single word suffering loss of syllables in the three positions" and the other *ceyyuḷ vikāram-valittal, melittal* etc. The first applies to individual words whilst the latter may refer to all kinds of words whether occurring individually or not.

Under *sūtra* 103 Mayilainātar lays down the general rule that wherever Naṉṉūl does not mention *vēṟṟumai* or *alvaḻi* both should be taken.

Again in *sūtra* 104 he relies upon the phrases *iṟṟu mey* "final consonant" and *āvi yaramuṉ* "before vowels and /y/ and /r/" for weaving out his theory that the *sandhi* changes occur either to the first word of a *sandhi* as pertaining thereto or to the second word of the *sandhi* as pertaining thereto. In this *sūtra* he points out that the interrogative words, vocative case etc., are not included. He calls *potu-p-peyar* as *iyaṟpeyar* probably following Tolkāppiyam. He refers to an important distinction by stating that *makaṉ, makaḷ* etc., will belong to *uyartiṇai* if they refer to human beings; but if they refer to kinship relation they will belong to the *aḵṟiṇai.* Therefore according to him this *sūtra* has to be understood with these restrictions.

In 106, he finds it difficult to show examples for the optional rule therein. The *ēval* or the imperative which also belonged to II person in Tamil, is stated apart from *muṉṉilai*. Mayilainātar states that this is for clarification.

Mayilainātar's commentary is important also for making certain general statements, which are not made clear in Naṉṉūl. Under 106 he states that the second person finite verbs do not end in */ḻ/*.

Under 107 no example is given for the vowel glide before */au/* because it is a rare occurrence. It also does not occur finally. In 108 the wording of the *sūtra* is taken to imply a rule for lengthening the demonstrative bases though not uniformly. Naṉṉūl has referred to the occurrence of */ṅ/* only after the demonstrative bases. Mayilainātar adds under *sūtra* 108 that */ṅ/* can occur with the interrogative */e/* and in such cases the initial */ṅ/* doubles. In *ivvaṇi* and *āyiṭai* he points out, that the usual glides do not come. In this way Mayilainātar tries to fill up certain lacuna found in Naṉṉūl by following certain rules of interpretation viz., by the use of extra words suggesting certain lacuna left as such consciously by the author.

Under 110 Mayilainātar makes the scheme of Naṉṉūl clearer. Naṉṉūl does not relegate rules for all the *urupus* to *urupiyal* nor does he has a *kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṇariyal*. Therefore Mayilainātar points out that *uyir* in Naṉṉūl includes both *kuṟṟukaram* and the vowel endings of the case signs. Further he brings out the force of the word *maṉṉē* for pointing out that there are a few exceptions to this general rule.

Under 111, he relies upon the */um/* in the word *'peṟunavum'* for weaving out a rule that there are words which do not take the homorganic nasal. e.g. *akattikkāy* "the unripened fruit of akatti" etc.

Under 112 it is not clear that the whole *sūtra* refers to the /*a*/ ending. Mayilainātar points out that since the first word and the last word mentioned end in /*a*/ the intermediate words should also be taken as ending in /*a*/. Therefore the negative *peyar eccams* "relative participles" ending in /*ā*/ cannot be included under this exception and they therefore follow the general rule of doubling.

Under 113 we get another principle that when the environment which follows the word is not defined the rule operates in all environments. Iḷampūraṇar under Tolkāppiyam 210 has only referred to the loss of the final syllable /*ya*/. Because of the /*um*/ in '*ēkalum*' and in '*ēkiṉum*' found in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* Mayilainātar points out that /*ya*/ need not always disappear, thus trying to be true to the literary usage.

Under 114 Mayilainātar provides for alternant forms like *palla*~*pala, cilla*~*cila* by the extra word *piṟa*.

Under 118, Mayilainātar relies upon the subjenctive form '*variṉ*' for pointing out that the change of /*u*/ is not compulsory and in cases where there is no such change the doubling rule will operate.

Uuder 119 thanks to an extra word Mayilainātar provides for forms like *uriyarici* "*uri* measure of rice" etc. Ordinarily the first word in a *sandhi* should be mentioned first, then only the second word should be mentioned. Whenever this is not followed, the author according to Mayilainātar and others should be taken to suggest something that commentator must try to make it clear, as for instance in 119 where an implied suggestion is taken for providing rule for forms like *nāḻiyuri* occurring without changing into *nāṭuri*.

Under rule 128, he makes the implications clearer by stating that in *vēṟṟumai*, some instances may not follow the doubling rule whereas in *alvaḻi* a few instances may follow the doubling rule whilst even with reference to /ṭ/ and /ṟ/ they may double. He gives the following examples: *nāṭu kiḻavōṉ* "the ruler of the country", *kāṭakam* "jungle place", *kaṟai miṭaṟaṇiyal* for *vēṟṟumai*; *kāṭṭaraṇ* etc., for *alvaḻi*, *eruttukkāl* "the leg of a bull" etc., for other consonants. In this way Naṉṉūl *sūtra* is saved from being condemned as defective.

Again in 129, he relies upon the extra word '*maṉ*' to point out that there are words which follow both the rule of no-change and change such as *kurakkukkaṭi*, *kuraṅkiṉkaṭi* 'the bite of the monkey' *vēppaṅkāy*, *vēmpiṉkāy* 'the unripened fruit of neem" *pāpputtōl*, *pāmpiṉṟōl* 'the skin of snake" etc.

Under 131 the extra word '*piṟa*' is relied upon for giving us the form *kīḻ* for *kiḻakku* "east" whilst no such change occurs for *mēṟku* in *mēṟṟicai* "western side".

In the *sūtras* on numerals certain alternant noun forms of numbers do not follow the general rule of doubling.[26] These however are not mentioned. But Mayilainātar points out that this is provided for under *sūtra* 124.

In the case of numbers like *patiṉoṉṟu* "eleven" etc., *sūtra* 142 lays down the *cāriyai* /*iṉ*/. But this rule does not apply to *paṉṉiraṇṭu* "twelve" *pattoṉpatu* "nineteen" and *patiṟṟāyiram* "ten thousand". After *oṉpatu* /*iṉ*/ does not occur when followed by *oṉṟu* etc. These are provided for impliedly according to Mayilainātar by the extra word '*ēṟpatuēṟkum*',

26. See Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 138.

But it is surprising that Naṉṉūl should have stated *'oṉpatum iṉaittē'* because this will apply only to the words like *āyiram* etc.

In 160 also Mayilainātar clarifies the result of the *sūtra*, because the environment is not specified therein. He states that /a/ alone will come when the vowels, nasals and the semivowels follow.

161 refers only to *vēṟṟumai*. But unfortunately Mayilainātar finds that the same rule applies to *alvaḻi*. For this he relies upon the /um/ in *'vēṟṟumaikkaṇṇum'* occurring in the *sūtra*.

In 163 he relies upon the word *'uṟavē'* to provide for exceptional usages like *'alavaṉ kaṇ'* "the eye of the crab" etc., after nouns and *variṟ kollum* "will kill if come" after a *viṉaiyeccam*.

Sūtra 164 lays down the rule of change. But naturally the /m/ ending in /am/ does not change when the bilabial plosive follows. For providing for this exception Mayilainātar relies upon /um/ in the word "*tiripavum*".

Sūtra 167 is not compulsory. But there is nothing to suggest this interpretation. Mayilainātar feels that following the alphabetic order *kai* "hand" must have been mentioned first. But it had not been so mentioned. This alternation in the natural order according to Mayilainātar is conscious on the part of the author to suggest that there are exceptions to this rule.

Sūtra 169 is against the forms like *vāy pukuvatu*, *vaḷḷukir katuval* where the doubling rule does not apply. The alternation in these cases is provided only for *vēṟṟumai*.

Again in *alvaḻi* we get forms like *pāḻāṉakiṇaṟu*, *pāḻkkiṇaṟu* and *pāḻṅkiṇaṟu* "ruined well". This defective statement is tried to be cured by Mayilainātar's reliance on an extra word "*mēl*".

So also forms like *tamiḻ-k-kūttu* "the Tamilian system of dance" and *tāḻkkōl* "bolt" which are not provided under 170 are explained as coming under the force of /*um*/ in the word '*uṟavum*'

In 173 Naṉṉūl speaks of /*l*/ or /*ḷ*/ becoming *āytam*. The question then arises as to how can /*t*/ occurring after *āytam* be changed into /*ṟ*/ and /*ṭ*/, a change according to 182 which can occur only when the /*t*/ is preceded by /*l*/ or /*ḷ*/. For these Mayilainātar relies upon an old *sūtra* "*tirintataṉ tiripum atuvām orōvaḻi*," "even the altered sound may be taken sometimes as the older sound".

Under 173 he relies upon the /*um*/ in '*ākavum*' for providing for cases where no *āytam* comes in as *kaṟṟītu* and *muṭṭītu*.

In 174 he relies upon an extra word *piṟa* for cases like *nūṟkaṭal*, "ocean of books" *nūl cila*, "some books" where in *alvaḻi* the rule of change occurs in one place and the no-change rule in another place.

Sūtra 175 as already stated creates a difficulty because Naṉṉūl 152 has given the rule for the coming in of /*u*/ for *toḻiṟ peyar* ending in /*l*/ or /*ḷ*/. Here in 175 Naṉṉūl speaks of the *toḻiṟpeyar* ending in /*l*/ or /*ḷ*/ not taking the /*u*/. If this should be an exception to the other rule, it must have immediately followed the other. The justification for the order found in Naṉṉūl is given by Mayilainātar. The forms

contemplated in the earlier *sūtras* are different from the forms contemplated in *sūtra* 175. The forms occurring in the previous *sūtras* are similar to the imperative forms like *koḷ* whilst the forms occurring under 175 are altered forms like *kōḷ* or forms taking suffixes like *koḷḷutal.*

In *sūtra* 184 he gives the exceptions to the rule [1] the ending of the *cāriyai /iṉ/* does not change according to the general rule; [2] even *uriccol* ending in */a/* gets a homorganic nasal before a word beginning with a plosive and [3] the Sanskrit words follow the no-change rule.

Under 191, he finds forms which do not take *cāriyai.* But he does not point out any extra word to cure the defective statement.

Under 192 Mayilainātar mentions that the forms *nī* "you (sg)" and *nīr* "you (pl)" have their oblique forms as *uṉ* and *um* respectively in *vaḻakku* "current usage". But no where does Naṉṉūl mention the form *uṉ* or *um* though these two are older than Naṉṉūl. Mayilainātar to cure this defect relies upon the extra word *piṟa.*

Under 195 he relies upon an extra word *vaḻi* for getting rid of another defect. Naṉṉūl takes */a/*, */i/*, */u/*, and */e/* as the bases and if a vowel had to follow a */v/* will come in between. But this */v/* coming after the short vowels does not double according to *sūtra* 150. But for this non-application of the rule there is no *sūtra* in Naṉṉūl. The extra word *vaḻi* is therefore relied upon for suggesting this exception.

The accusative case sometimes has three forms e.g. *villaikkoḷ*, *vilkoḷ* and *viṟkoḷ* "have the bow". This complication is not contemplated in 200. But Mayilainātar provides for it because of the force of the phrase '*aṉṉa piṟavum*'.

Under *sūtra* 202 we get certain forms given by Mayilai-nāṭar as being probably of frequent usage. [1[*pōṉāṉ* instead of *pōyiṉāṉ* "he has gone"; *coṉṉāṉ* instead of *colliṉaṉ* "he said"; [2] *pukkāṉ* "he has gone" etc., [3] *vāriyōḷ*, *vāruṅkōḷ* "please come", *vantiyōḷ*, *vāruṅkiṭir* [of which four are referred to as the new usages of his times]. He also points out *intavaṉantal*, *kuḷāmpal*, *marāṭi*, *ceṅkaḻunir* as special instances of *sandhi*.

Mayilaināṭar has his own interpretations for certain terms. Under 139 *oṉpatu* is interpreted as *oṉṟu ūṉamāṉa pattu* 'one less than ten'. He points out that *oṉṟūṉamāṉa pattu* has become *oṉpatu* in ancient times. Mayilaināṭar has a curious way of justifying the forms *toḷḷāyiram* and *toṇṇūṟu*. If one less than ten is multiplied by ten and one less than ten is multiplied by hundred, the ten multiplied by ten will give hundred and the ten multiplied by hundred will give thousand. If 'one less than' stands separate, it will explain the allomorphs *toṉ* and *toḷ*. But this is very bad mathematics. Because if 10×10 is put in the bracket and one is put outside the bracket. i.e. $-1[10 \times 10]$ we may not get -90 nor $-1[10 \times 100]$ can give us 900.

2.2.2 CAṄKARANAMACCIVĀYAR'S COMMENTARY ON NAṈṈŪL

2.2.2 1 THE AUTHOR ETC.

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is the disciple of Cuvāminata Tēcikar and therefore a contemporary of Vaittiyanātar. Cuvāminata Tēcikar was a great grammarian. He was of the opinion that in spite of the greatness of Naṉṉūl its importance was minimised unfortunately by the then existing commentary on Naṉṉūl. He gives in his monumental work called *Ilakkaṇa-k-kotturai* the example of milk, honey and ghee becoming mere mud when split on mud for explaining this[1]. We are told that to avoid this defect he suggested to his disciple Caṅkaranamaccivāyar to write a new commentary on Naṉṉūl.

2.2.2.2 COMPARISON OF THE COMMENTARIES OF *Mayilainātar* AND *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar*.

2.2.2.21 Differences in readings adopted by ***Mayilainātar*** **and** ***Caṅkaranamaccivāyar*****:** First of all it is found that there are some differences in readings in Naṉṉūl adopted by Mayilainātar and Caṅkaranamaccivāyar respectively. The following give the readings.

Sl. No.	*Sūtra* No.	Reading of Mayilainātar	Reading of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar
1	16	*ai-y-au i, u-c- ceṟiya mutaleḻu-t-tivviraṇ ṭōriṉa māyvaru muṟaiyē.*	*ai-y-au i, u-c- ceṟiya mutaleḻu-t-tivviraṇ ṭōriṉa māy varaṉ muṟaiyē*

1. *Ilakkaṇa-k-kotturai* p. 17.

2	34	*pulli viț țavvoțu munnuru -pākiyum ēnai-y- uyirō țuru-pu tirintum mēviya mēviya uyirala pāyatan vațivoli-t- tiruvayir peya- roțum orru munnāy varu- muyir meyyē*	*pullivit țavvoțu munnuru vākiyum ēnai-y- uyirō țuruvu tirintum uyirala- vāy atan vațivoli-t-tiru- vayir peyaroțu morru munnāy varu muyirmey*
3	40	*tarcuț țalapoli-y- aimmū valiyum naiyum auvu mutalar rākum*	*tarcuț țalavoli-y-aimmū valiyum naiyum auvu mutalar rākum*
4	111	*mara-p-peyar munna rinamel leluttu vara-p- peru navumula vērrumai valiyē*	*mara-p-peyar munna rinamel leluttu vara-p- peru navumula vērrumai valiyē*
5	152	*ñananama lavalana-v- orriru tolirpeyar... uvvuru mēvar kurā cila cilvali*	*ñananama lavalana-v- orriru tolirpeyar... uvvuru mēva lurācila cilveli*
6	31	*anna nuninā nani-y-ura ranavarum*	*anna nuninā nani-y- urir-ranavarum*
7	39	*nețiloțāytam....*	*nețilōțāytam....*
8	183	*urupin muțīppavai....*	*urupin muțipavai...*
9	184	— *maru-v-um*	*marūu-v-um*
10	186	*peyarvali-t-tan poruḷ*	*peyarvali-t- tamporuḷ*

One may now discuss here about the differences in the readings given above.

murai is taken before *ivviranțu* occurring at the beginning of the line and is interpreted as 'respectively' or as Rāmānucakkavirāyar suggests "according to the order in the Tamil alphabet." Caṅkaranamaccivāyar however interprets *murai* as the proper order.

The second difference in reading does not affect the meaning.

The third reading adopted by Mayilainātar is in accordance with the other authorities quoted. Then *aḷapu* is the *aḷapeṭai.* When it is a question of pointing out cases where sound suffer no diminution, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar states that there is no meaning in referring to *aḷapeṭai* where no question of diminution in quantity can ever arise. Therefore he has the reading "*tar̲cuṭṭaḷavu*" when the word denotes nothing more than itself. But one may argue that when /au/ or /ai/ is said to have one *māttirai* that must apply to all /ai/s and /au/s whether in *aḷapetai* or elsewhere and that therefore *aḷapeṭai* must be mentioned as an exception.

The fourth is merely a change in the writing convention.

With reference to the fifth Caṅkaranamccivāyar feels that in the first sentence the subject of *ur̲u* is *toḻir peyar, ēval* etc., and its negation in the second sentence cannot be symmetrically effected by introducing a different subject /u/ which in addition being a singular noun cannot take a plural predicate *ur̲ā*. But this is misinterpreting Mayilainātar's commentary. The subject of the second sentence is *cila* and *ēvar̲ku* is in the locative. There is no question of altering the pattern or any occurrence of a singular subject for a plural predicate.

The readings 6 to 10 do not alter the meaning in any way.

2.2.2.22 Criticisms against ***Mayilainātar*** **by** ***Caṅkaranamaccivāyar:*** Apart from the readings suggested and adopted by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar there are other criticisms levelled by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar against Mayilainātar. *Sūtra*

54 in Nannūl is interpreted by Mayilaiṉātar as to mean that the syllabic letter not only occurs within itself in the order, consonant and vowel, it also occurs as such syllabic letters as one unit, initially and finally. Since this *sūtra* occurs where the distribution of phonemes are mentioned this is also interpreted as giving the distribution of *uyirmey*. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets this *sūtra* to mean that when a word is found written with a syllabic letter or *uyirmey* either at the beginning or at the end, the word should be taken to begin in a consonant and end in a vowel. Nannūl when laying down the *sandhi* rules generally speaks only of the consonant or vowel ending or beginning. Therefore, if this *sūtra* is not interpreted in this way, there will be no rule for Nannūl laying down the *sandhi* rule in the manner in which it does. This *sūtra* therefore applies to statements about the initial occurrence, the final occurrence and the medial occurrence of phonemes, about words and about *sandhi*. This interpretation of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar makes the Nannūl *sūtra* much more significant.

In *sūtra* 55 also '*uyirmey mayakku*' is interpreted by Mayilaiṉātar as the clustering of the two syllabic letters. If Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's interpretation for 54 is accepted, '*uyirmey mayakku*' must be interpreted as referring to the clustering of vowels and consonants. According to Mayilaiṉātar's interpretation, there will be no provision further for the clustering of the vowels and consonants.

Sūtras 67, 68 and 69 are included by Mayilaiṉātar under medial clustering, for, Mayilaiṉātar writes, only at the end of its commentary on 69, 'here ends the rules about the medial clustering'. This is evidently wrong as pointed out by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar. In these *sūtras* there is no question

of clustering of any sounds. These are *sūtras* about *pōli*, "free variation". Words implying similarity (or *pōli?*) are found in these *sūtras* themselves. cf. *uṟaḻ* and *okkum*. The discussion on medial clusters ends with 66 which gives a conclusion for the discussion by providing miscellaneous exceptions.

In 139 we have seen Mayilainātar interpreting *oṉpatu* as *oṉṟu ūṉamāṉapattu* etc. We found that interpretation is not at all satisfactory. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that "*muraṇi*" cannot mean 'having multipiled', that even if it means that, Mayilainātar's interpretation will not specifically provide for the coming word changing and that if it is urged that the change is explained, there will be no necessity for making any statement in the rule for the alteration of the first word of the *sandhi*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar therefore interprets *muṉṉatiṉ* as "similar to the first word above mentioned" i.e., "*oṉpāṉ*" ["one above eight" according to him has become *oṉpaᵒᵒtu*; there *pattu* comes in; similarly *eṇpatiṉ mēṟ pattu* becomes *nūṟu*; *eṇṇūṟṟiṉ mēl nūṟu* becomes *āyiram*]. "*ēṉaiya*" according to him will mean the "*varumoḻi*" and "*muraṇi*" will mean "having changed". Perhaps Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is struggling to express what modern linguists will call "distant assimilation". But it has to be admitted that the statement is not clear.

In interpreting *sūtra* 199, Mayilainātar is of the opinion that what is stated to any one of the following viz., suffix, word, *cāriyai*, case-sign, may be applicable to any other of these. This is made clear by his examples. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar rightly criticises this, for, this application of the *sandhi* rules had already been stated with reference to each one of these [in 78, 81, 96, 184 and 188]. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's interpretation is that though the *sandhi* rules with reference

to suffix, word, etc., have been given earlier in general terms and therefore may be taken as applicable uniformly to all cases, this may not be so and that consequently one must analyse and find out which rule is proper and applicable to individual cases.

With reference to *sūtra* 200 the '*virintuniṉṟum*' is used with reference to *viravu-p-peyar*. Mayilainātar does not give any illustration for case sign not occurring or suffering an ellipsis with reference to *viravu-p-peyar*. Mayilainātar must be taken to hold that in the *viravu-p-peyar* the case sign will always occur. That means as Caṅkaranamaccivayar points out that *virintu niṉṟu* is taken as *virital* while *nil* will be merely an auxiliary verb. If Mayilainātar's interpretation is correet, forms like *āṇ peṟṟāḷ* "she gave birth to a male child" and *peṇ peṟṟāḷ* "she gave birth to a female child" where the case sign does not appear, should be explained as grammatical. This position is untenable. Therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets *virintu niṉṟu* as *virintum* and *niṉṟum* where *niṉṟatu* means "left out" [i.e. suffered ellipsis] as in the phrase *nōy niṉṟatu.* But the question still remains whether in the context *virintu niṉṟum*, *niṉṟu* can mean "left out". The force of the example *nōyniṉṟatu* cannot be extended to other contexts. Tolkāppiyar has mentioned only *viri* for both *uyartiṇai* and *viravu-p-peyar*[2]. Iḷampūraṇar has pointed out that in both these cases there are instances where the case sign is absent. Therefore one may expect Naṉṉūl to follow Iḷampūraṇar. Perhaps Pavaṇanti thought that the examples *makaṉ*, *makaḷ* are not *viravu-p-peyar*. Or perhaps he thought the rare exceptions can be brought under "*aṉṉa piṟavum*". However strained

2. See TE *sūtra* 158.

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's interpretation may be, it makes Naṉṉūl to provide for all the usages of *viravu-p-peyar* above mentioned.

2.2.2.23 Portions of *Mayilainātar's* commentary omitted by *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar*. One may pass on to consider what Caṅkaranamaccivāyar has omitted from the commentary of Mayilainātar. This will throw light on the changed conditions under which Caṅkaranamaccivāyar comes to write. Some of the omissions have a different purpose. Either Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not agree with Mayilainātar or feels there is no need for such statements or restrictions.

In *sūtra* 1, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar omits the elaborate introduction. In *sūtra* 4 and 6 Mayilainātar speaks of *tokai*, *vakai* and *viri*. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar has left out that clarification on *tokai*, *vakai* and *viri*. In 5 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not feel any necessity for justifying the opinion that *cārpeḻuttus* are ten in number because this tradition has become well established in his times, whereas in the age of Mayilainātar, there was such a necessity. Similarly he omits all attempts by Mayilainātar at proving that Naṉṉūl follows ancient authorities and also omits such statements as found in Mayilainātar's commentary on pp. 36 and 47.

Under *sūtra* 6 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not speak of *uyir akaram* and *uyirmey akaram* as stated by Mayilainātar. This is because of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's explanation of 54 above referred to. Under *sūtra* 8, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not admit that any question of *etirnūl* will arise, as contemplated by Mayilainātar; *etirnūl* is no longer contemplated in the age of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.

Under *sūtra* 9, Mayilainātar states that the expression *avaṟṟuḷ* should be taken to all of the following *sūtras* which give the names of sounds. By oversight Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not make this position clear in his commentary.

The explanation about the various sounds forming *iṉam* is given in detail by Mayilainātar. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not feel it necessary to give that detail or probably he does not agree with the statements of Mayilainātar.

Sūtra 35 is described by Mayilainātar as referring to *orumoḻi iṭattu varum muṟṟāytam*, "fully pronounced *āytam* occurring within undivided words". But since there is no other place where *puṇarmoḻi āytam* like *a°°kaṭiya* is mentioned in Naṉṉūl and since *a°°kaṭiya* is also a *muṟṟāytam* according to Naṉṉūl, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar simply explains this as referring to the occurrence of *muṟṟāytam* i.e. whether in individual words or in *sandhi* words.

Under 37, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not quote the elaborate discussion of Mayilainātar.

Under 39, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not refer to Avinayam. We see elsewhere that Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ answers Mayilainātar's criticism on Avinayam. The question is whose opinion that Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ is giving. Is it that of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar or of Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ? If it is by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ should have adopted Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's views.

Under 40, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not repeat Mayilainātar's criticism on Yāpparuṅkala Virutti. By the time of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar the old views had no support and Naṉṉūl itself has become an authority. Therefore there was no necessity for such criticisms.

Under 43, as by the time of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar the rare habit of putting dots on *kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* have disappeared, he does not mention about this dead usage.

Under 51, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar omits quotations against Tolkāppiyam for the obvious reason that Tolkāppiyam has become a well established authority by his time, to such a great extent that no necessity was found to iustify Tolkāppiyam against these criticisms.

Under 61, Mayilainātar raises the question as to why /ṅ/ has not been specifically mentioned. He probably means by /ṅ/ the syllabic letter /ṅa/ rather than the consonant /ṅ/ probably misinterpreting the term *moḻimutal mey*. This term refers to the consonants which can occur initially and not to their actual occurrence in the initial syllables. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not make this mistake and therefore he does not raise any question.

Under 101, the implications made clear by Mayilainātar are found probably unnecessary by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.

Under 104 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not refer to *makaṉ* and *makaḷ* occurring in both *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* as Mayilainātar does. Probably Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not agree with Mayilainātar.

Under 105 if one follows Tolkāppiyam one may not like Mayilainātar raising the question whether *viṉā* and *viḷi* may not be included under *potuppeyar*. This question is therefore omitted by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.

Under 107, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not probably admit Mayilainātar's position that the glides did not always occur before a word beginning with a vowel.

Sūtra 110 is interpreted as referring also to *kuṟṟiyaluka-ram* aud the case signs ending in a vowel. This had to be so stated in the age of Mayilainātar when Tolkāppiyar's scheme of analysing the *sandhi* rules was in force. But by the time of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar the scheme laid down in Naṉṉūl was the only one known to the public as was made clear by our study of Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam. Therefore Caṅkaranamac-civāyar had no necessity like Mayilainātar to make this position clear.

Under 112, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not refer to *uṇṇākkutirai* "the horse that did not eat", for, there is no necessity for referring to the long /*ā*/ ending under the *sūtra* referring to short /*a*/ ending only. *uṇṇākkutirai* etc., will be covered by the general *sūtra* 110.

As Naṉṉūl *sūtras* have become very popular and well known to students, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar has no necessity like Mayilainātar to point to *sūtra* 124 which has already preceded the present *sūtra* [138].

Under 149 Mayilainātar interprets it in a general way as referring to the natural way in which the soul combines with the body. From this *vēṟṟupporuḷ vaippu* (*ārthāntra nyāya*) one may infer that the consonant also combined naturally with the vowel. This kind of interpretation is not attempted by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar. He interprets the *sūtras* from a grammatical and scientific point of view without bringing figures of speeches; instead therefore he speaks of the convention of interpretation such as *yukti* and of the rules of inference such as *arthāpatti*.

In 149 Mayilainātar tries to find implications for the Tolkāppiyam usages viz., *tēṉkuṭam* and *tēṟkuṭam*. But Caṅ-karanamaccivāyar does not attempt at anything like that

because he is not anxious to interpret Naṉṉūl to provide for all the archaic usages which are no longer in force.

Under 173, Mayilaiṉātar speaks of *tirintataṉ tiripum atuvām* as already pointed out. If the laterals and the dentals are reciprocally changed, there is no question of the type raised by Mayilaiṉātar. Therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar omits that discussion.

Under 175, instead of simply speaking of *vāypāṭu veṟṟumai* like Mayilaiṉātar, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar specifies as *vikuti peṟṟa toḻiṟpeyarkkum mutanilai tirinta toḻiṟpeyarkkum varuvatōr aiyam aṟuttal* - "it resolves the doubt between the verbal noun which has got a suffix and the verbal noun which has undergone a change in the initial position".

Under 198, Mayilaiṉātar splits the words into morphemes for the purpose of helping the students to identify the *cāriyais*. But by the time of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar the identification of morphemes must have become so easy and so familiar that he simply gives the examples without splitting them.

2.2.2.24 Differences between *Mayilaiṉātar* **and** *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar*: One has to find out the differences between Mayilaiṉātar and Caṅkaranamaccivāyar in order to see how much of Mayilaiṉātar's interpretation intended for making Naṉṉūl perfect has been altered by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar for the same purpose.

2.2.2.24.1: '*niṟai uyir*' in *sūtra* 19 has been interpreted as the undisturbed soul remaining in its own full nature. *muyaṟci* is interpreted as the conation following the resolution to speak. As already stated Mayilaiṉātar speaks of two

different "four-places-of-articulation" where the latter four alone are involved in the process of articulation. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar tries to interpret this *sūtra* according to the Saivite tradition. He therefore gives *māya* as the ultimate cause and he argues that Naṉṉūl mentions *aṇuttiraḷ* as an immediate condition though he also points out that it may be interpreted as being true to Jainism of Pavaṇanti. He could not possibly accept that the soul in its full nature is involved in pronunciation. Therefore he interprets *niṟai uyir* as the soul which is possessed of all the factors which are necessary for producing the required effect of the articulation of sounds. He also does not refer to any resolution to speak. He speaks only of the effort of the soul. He speaks of the first four organs as the places of articulation and refers to the others as playing the part of the process or the mode of articulation. In this way Caṅkaranamaccivāyar has made the *sūtra* acceptable to the Saivites of Tamil land though he also admits that Pavaṇanti may be giving expression to his Jain Philosophy in this *sūtra*.

2.2.2.24.2: In *sūtra* 96 the phrase *mey uyir* occurs, whilst the conventional order is *uyirmey*. The conventions of commentary require some explanation for this displacement of order. Mayilainātar's explanation is that the consonants alone become changed initially and finally. This is certainly a very involved explanation. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar therefore gives a simpler explanation based on the explanation given by Iḷampūraṇar, explaining the displaced order like *alvaḻi veṟṟumai*. *vēṟṟumai alvaḻi* according to them would be ambiguous because it may not necessarily give rise to two different constructions as *vēṟṟumai* and *alvaḻi*; but it may also be interpreted referring to the construction other than *vēṟṟumai*.

Similarly Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that the phrase *uyirmey* mean [1] vowel and [2] the consonant and that it may also mean the unit described as *uyirmey* or syllabic letters. To avoid this ambiguity Naṉṉūl has used the phrase *mey uyir*, where no reference to the syllabic letter will arise.

2.2.2.24.3: Under 101, as already pointed out, Mayilainātar is discussing the necessity for including *ceyyuḷ vikāram* in this chapter on *sandhi vikāram.* Here also Caṅkaranamaccivāyar gives a simpler explanation. He points out that since in poetry both the *sandhi* rules and these *ceyyuḷ vikāram* occur, the *ceyyuḷ vikāram* is described here so that the student may himself distinguish these two different kinds of changes here itself.

2.2.2.24.4: Under 104, since Mayilainātar had already pointed out the difference between changes occurring in the first part of the *sandhi* and later in the second part of the *sandhi* with the help of the two sentences of the *sūtra* the third sentence herein is, very clearly interpreted by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar as applicable to *uyartiṇai* nouns whether they are the first part or the second part of a *sandhi* and whether they end in vowels or consonants because there is no reference about the endings in this *sūtra.*

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, it will be thus seen, always takes the importance of every word and the syntactic structure of the *sūtra*.

2.2.2.24.5: Under 112, Mayilainātar explains *palvakai-p-peyariṉeccam* as including *peyar eccam* expressing an action or quality or similarity and also the negative. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets it as including *peyareccam* whose

roots are [1] verb root [2] verb roots which are derived from noun, *iṭai* and *uri*. From this point of view the mention of negative mood becomes unnecessary. Mayilainātar's classification would be conforming two different hierarchies of morphological structure.

2.2.2.24.6: Under 119, Mayilainātar mentions the form *nāḻiyuri* probably because he had come across such form in current usage of his times. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar must have realised that such a form is not found in literary usage or he does not accept this interpretation as flowing from the displacement in order of mentioning the two words forming a *sandhi*. He follows the well known *paribāsha* of Sanskrit grammar and *Mimāmsa* writers, where the special rule like the one prescribing for the form *nāṭuri* in the place of the general rule about the glide will rule out the operation of the general rule. Therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar states that *nāḻiyuri* is not a grammatical form. If this *nāḻiyuri* was found in usage then Caṅkaranamaccivāyar would have stated it as an *arṣida* usage.

2.2.2.24.7: Under 157 the word *iyalpum* is applied to the environment where any one of the three kinds of consonants can occur as contemplated by Mayilainātar. But *iyalpu* simply means the no-change rule, that is, in the present case the absence of the nasal becoming a plosive. In that case, the environment is more or less defined because the following word must begin with a plosive. He also probably thought that when the following word begins with a vowel, the consonant will combine with it. As already made clear by Naṉṉūl even then it will be a case of *iyalpu*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar however finds that this no-change rule is necessary to be stated only when the plosive follows. If in other cases, the *cāriyai*

|a| occurs, according to him this has to be only on the basis of an extra word. In this way Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is very strict and consistent in following the conventions of interpretation in writing a commentary. On the basis of the same extra word he provides for the occurrence of the *cāriyai |a|* and also for the doubling rule when the second word begins with a plosive. In this way he provides for forms like *eyiṉa-k-kaṉṉi*, "the virgin belongs to the *eyiṉar* clan" etc.

2.2.2.24.8: Under *sūtra* 200 Mayilaināṭar gives the cases of *villaikkoḷ, vilkoḷ* and *viṟkoḷ*. Ordinarily the case sign can occur or suffer an ellipsis. Therefore the forms *villaikkoḷ* and *vilkoḷ* do not require any special rule. But because *uyartiṇai* and *viravuppeyar* have been specifically stated, a doubt arises about *aஃṟiṇai* which may be taken otherwise to follow a rule different from that applicable to *uyartiṇai*. Ordinarily the accusative case sign does not occur after *aஃṟiṇai* except when there is a possibility of confusion. It is because of this, *villaikkoḷ* has been specifically mentioned. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar thinks that no such doubt arises. As far as *vilkoḷ* and *viṟkoḷ* are concerned these are provided by the rule *laḷavēṟṟumayiṟṟaṭavum*[3]. Therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not refer to these forms. But he gives cases like *taṟkoṇṭāṉ* where instead of *uṟaḻcci, vikāram* alone occurs.

Mayilaināṭar describes this *sūtra* as summarising the changes occurring in the accusative case. That is certainly not the intention. The *sūtra* gives only the exceptions to the general rule, with reference to the accusative case. Therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar explains this *sūtra* as mentioning the rule of exception for *vēṟṟumai sandhi*. The same remark has to be made to the interpretations given by Mayilaināṭar and Caṅkaranamaccivāyar under 201.

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3. Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 172.

2.2.2.24.9: In 201 Mayilainātar used the very word *tamminākiya tolil col* without any further explanation. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar explains that phrase. That applies to Naṉṉūl *peyariyal sūtra* 40 and the meaning is *karuttāvākiya nilaimoḻi-p-poruḷ tammālākiya toḻir col.*[4]

2.2.2.25: Exceptions stated by *Mayilainātar* which were omitted by *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.*

2.2.2.25.1: Under 111 Mayilainātar mentions *attikkāy* etc. These are covered by the general rule 110 itself according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, because he has explained that it comes under one of the implications of the phrase *vitavātaṉa maṉṉē*, "those which have not been specifically mentioned can follow the rule specifically mentioned".

2.2.2.25.2: Under 113 Mayilainātar speaks of that *sūtra* as applying to all environments. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets this not as a *sandhi* rule but a rule applicable to the word *vāḻiya* itself even when no word follows it. He also does not see any necessity for saying, that *vāḻiya* need not necessarily undergo any change or to say that it stands as *vāḻiya*. The *sūtra* itself is clear about the first and *sūtra* 112 is clear about the second.

2.2.2.25.3: In *sūtra* 116 Mayilainātar trying to equate Tolkāppiyam with Naṉṉūl points out the forms *palla*, *cilla* and *palām*, *cilām*. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar omits them because they were no longer in use.

2.2.2.25.4: Under 144 Mayilainātar refers to the shortening of the three words meaning three, six and seven on the basis of the extra word *neṟi*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not find any necessity for this indirect interpretation because this shortening is covered by the *sūtra* 183.

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4. For a detailed explanation for this see at the end of this chapter.

2.2.2.25.5: Under 179 Mayilainātar gives forms like *puḷkaṭitu, puṭkaṭitu* "the bird is speedy" where the *sūtra* does not seem to apply. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not refer to this, because the more common and ordinary usage of his time was *puḷḷukkaṭitu*. The exceptional rare usages can be brought under the general *puṟanaṭai*; so also the cases of the non-occurrence of the prescribed *cāriyai* may be explained under the exception *sūtra* 191.

2.2.2.25.6: Under 202 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not mention the various examples given by Mayilainātar probably because most of them belong to *marūu* etc.

2.2.2.26 **Exceptions not mentioned by** ***Mayilainātar*** **but mentioned by** ***Caṅkaranamaccivāyar***: Now one may take up the exceptional forms which have not been mentioned specifically in Naṉṉūl. To this extent Naṉṉūl will be defective for not providing for these exceptional cases under proper places. It is not proper procedure to deal with all the exceptions at the end of the book especially when they relate to frequent forms.

2.2.2.26.1 We have already seen that Caṅkaranamaccivāyar brings forms like *attikkāy* under 111. This is made clear by his own statement.

2.2.2.26.2 The words *no* and *tu* follow the doubling rule, because of the force of the word *maṉṉē* in that *sūtra*. In the result these two words double the following consonant even when it is not a plosive.

2.2.2.26.3 Under 112 the no-change rule will not apply after a finite verb. The finite verb form may become a non-finite participle. Naturally the same rule of no-change will

apply to these forms. This is called *aruttā patti* according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar. The word *mur̲r̲u* is interpreted similarly under 116 where in addition the *vin̲aimur̲r̲u* can occur as a participial noun. Under 115 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar also relies on the extra word *pir̲a* but for justifying forms like *palpala, cilcila* where in rare instances the ending of the first word does not change into /r̲/ because this *sūtra* occurs last amongst the *sūtras* stating rules for /a/ ending. Similarly all other exceptions may be explained by the use of the extra word.

2.2.2.26.4 Under 116 by applying the *utti iraṭṭur̲a moḻital*, *āmā* is taken to mean not only *ā* and *mā* but also *āmā*. *āmā* is once again interpreted in this way under *sūtra* 193.

2.2.2.26.5 Under 119 he gives an important form of the word *nāṭuri* occurring as *nāvuri* in his age.

2.2.2.26.6 Under 125 since the *sūtra* does not give the form *ān̲r̲ēyām* which gives the emphatic meaning the forms *atan̲r̲u* and *atuvan̲r̲u* are also possible. But this is a curious way of interpreting the *sūtra*. The *sūtras* do not usually use the emphatic form like *ān̲r̲ēyām*. This only shows to what extent the commentator is prepared to go to show that Nan̲n̲ūl is for all the ages. The better thing will be to provide the exceptions under the general exception rule at the end of the *eḻuttatikāram*.

2.2.2.26.7 Under 127 he has to provide for phrases like *varaku katir*. He brings that form under the implications of the *sūtras*. The non-occurrence of the doubling rule in *vēr̲r̲umai* in such cases like *teḷkin̲kaṭumai* etc., is according to him, due to the *cāriyai* which comes in between the first word and the second word in *sandhi*; the *cāriyai* must

be assumed by the *puṟanaṭai sūtra* 253. Naṉṉūl ordinarily, according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, ought to have given this reasoning i.e. the occurrence of the *cāriyai*. If Naṉṉūl does not follow this ordinary convention it must be implied to suggest to some other rule. That is in cases like *varakukatir* also the no-change rule operates even though there is no *cāriyai*.

2.2.2.26.8 Under 130 he provides for usage like *neṟṟai-p-poḻutu* "yesterday('s time)". Because that *sūtra* by itself is not restricted in its application, forms like *oṟṟai* "single", *iraṭṭai* "double" and *vēṭṭai* "hunting" and compounds like *īrāṭṭai* "two years" also get the *cāriyai /ai/* without any word following them, because the wording of the *sūtra* seems to suggest that the */ai/* is the position of the word not depending on *sandhi*.

2.2.2.26.9 Under 170 the */um/* in *avvuṟavum* is said to contemplate */iṉ/ cāriyai* not mentioned there and on this basis he explains the form *tamiḻiṉ cuvai* "the sweetness of Tamil."

2.2.2.26.10 Under 171 an optional doubling is provided for. But he finds *kīḻkulam* "the low caste" is much more frequent and therefore it is a prestige form. To establish this form, the */um/* is interpreted as the *iḻivuciṟappummai* "something which is not important."

2.2.2.26.11 Under 190 he provides for instances of the words taking two *cāriyais* as in *ellāvaṟṟiṉaiyum* "all cases." This he does under the *utti* called *iraṭṭuṟa moḻital*. He splits the *sūrta* as *ellām eṉpatu iḻitiṇaiyāy-iṉ aṟṟoṭu*

urupin mēl ummurumē, for explaining the form *ellāvarrinaiyum;* otherwise the *sūtra* will be taken as *ellām enpatilitinaiyāyin arrotu urupin mēlummurumē* which is the older interpretation.

2.2.2.26.12 Under 193 he makes the /*-um*/ to imply [1] the coming in of /*u*/ in addition to /*n*/, [2] /*u*/ alone coming in and [3] /*in*/ and /*u*/ coming in addition. In this way he provides for *ānukku, āvinukku* "for the cow" etc.

2.2.2.26.13 He also notes that *ān, mān* and *āmān* have become the free form of these words even when there is no *sandhi*. This is because of the extra word, *perumē*.

2.2.2.26.14 In 194 the word *varin* implies a rule laying down the coming in of *cāriyai*. Because the rule is not in the direct form, the commentator thinks that Nannūl has something to be suggested. A suggestion implied according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is that /*u*/ and /*in*/ will occur after the *cāriyai* /*ān*/. In this way he provides for forms like *orupān, orupānukku*, etc.

2.2.2.26.15 Similarly in *sūtra* 196 the word used is *varin*. The suggestion implied according to this indirect statement is that the /*u*/ in addition to /*-an*/ will come as in *atanukku* "for that".

2.2.2.26.16 By the application of the miscellaneous exception in 202 he provides a rule for the doubling of /*ṭ*/ in "*varaṭṭaravum*". It is an extension of the rule of 110. By extending the rule 166 /*am*/ will give the form *an*(*nalam*). By extending the rule 196 one gets the form for interrogatives namely *evarrai*. By extending the exceptional rule to the

instrumental case one may explain the similar behaviour of the locative case sign as in *maṇpukuntum* etc., where the locative case sign suffers an ellipsis.

2.2.2.27 New explanations given by ***Caṅkaranamaccivāyar*****:** Caṅkaranamaccivāyar gives certain new explanations and provides for certain rules which have either come into new usage or have not been explicitly stated by Naṉṉūl. No attempt is here made to group them into topics. But they are given according to the order of the *sūtras* in Naṉṉūl.

2.2.2.27.1 *taṉinilai* is the name given to *āytam*; according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar it behaves both like a vowel and a consonant and yet remains something different from both. With the help of Tirukkuṟaḷ 940 and 346 he explains how the *āytam* behaves like a vowel in the former and a consonant in the latter for the purpose of metre[5].

2.2.2.27.2 Generally he states that *āytam* is a dependant sound because it occurs in between two primary sounds whilst others are dependant sounds in that they are the variants of their respective primary sounds, thus depending on the primary sounds. *cārpu* is thus interpreted in two different ways.

2.2.2.27.3 *Iṭukuṟi* is, if we may follow Ullmann's phraseology, the conventional word, and since *kāraṇam* is a motivated word, most of them being derived words. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar states that the name had been given first by God and wise men.[6] Mayilainātar has stated that there are four kinds of names viz., [1] conventional general names, [2] conventional special names, [3] motivated general names and [4] motivated special names, the examples being [1] *uyir* [2] *Ial*

5. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 5.
6. See uuder Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 7.

[3] *kuṟil* and [4] *āytakkuṟukkam* respectively. It is not clear why *uyir* should be a conventional name; for, it is a metaphor and thus motivated. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar however following the Sanskrit usage which speaks of *yōga*, *rūḍhi* and *yōga-rūḍhi* interprets the *sūtra* alternatively to refer to these three viz., *kāraṇam*, *iṭukuṟi* and *kāraṇaiṭukuṟi* respectively. It will be thus seen that some of the original interpretations given by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar are based on Sanskrit theories.

2.2.2.27.4 Often Caṅkaranamaccivāyar refers to the *utti [yukti]* followed. Whereas under *sūtra* 12, Mayilainātar refers to *tokai*, *vakai* and *viri* for including the interrogative *yā* in this *sūtra* which should include only vowels. Cankara-namaccivāyar gives the *utti*, *oṉṟiṉa muṭittal taṉṉiṉa muṭittal.*

2.2.2.27.5 In *sūtra* 17 *poruḷ* is not interpreted in the way in which others like Mayilainātar have interpreted it. He thinks that the meaning of the short vowel and the long vowel is the same as ordered by the *mutal nūl*. This is not clear.

2.2.2.27.6: Under *sutra* 17 *vaṭivu* is explained as referring to the sound and also to the written form.

2.2.2.27.7: As the names for the primary letters have been given, the question arises as to why the names of *cārpeḻuttu* have not been so given. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's explanation is that *āytam* is something which stands apart whilst the other *cārpeḻuttus* take the same name as their respective *mutal eḻuttu*. *āytakkuṟukkam* depends on the dependant letter *āytam*. Therefore its articulation is also like that of the *āytam*. *āytakkuṟukkam* is going to be mentioned later. To make this *sūtra* 32 applicable to that as well, he interprets *eṉavum* suitably. Thus a lacuna is avoided.

2.2.2.27.8 *Sūtra* 34 explaining the *uyirmey* refers also to the written form. What is important in language which is primarily spoken is the sound. Nannūl has itself referred to *oliyeḻuttu*. Therefore the question arises as to why the script form should be referred to at all. He refers to the *mantras* which have been written in script forms which are as effective as *mantras* orally uttered. Because of this effectiveness Caṅkaranamaccivāyar states that Nannūl refers to the written form as well. One wonders whether this extra linguistic reason is relevant.

2.2.2.27.9 *Sūtra* 35 is a quotation from Tolkāppiyam. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets it so as to suit the age in which he lives. The compound *āyta-p-puḷḷi* occurs there. The question arises as to why the extra word *puḷḷi* is there. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's explanation is that in the later age the old form with the dot had been given up and this *sūtra* quoted by Pavananti emphasises the old form.

2.2.2.27.10 *Sūtra* 36 in Nannūl does not specify what has come to be specified in later times as [1] *innicai aḷapeṭai* where the shorter vowel becomes a *plūta*, [2] *collicai aḷapeṭai* where the extra lengthening is morphological. In these cases the *plūta* may become two syllables or one syllable according to the metrical exigencies. For this he quotes *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 15,263 and 1194. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's opinion is that according to Pavananti the short vowel comes in separately only to show that the vowel preceding it is a *plūta*.

2.2.2.27.11 With reference to *kuṟṟiyalukaram*, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar makes it clear that except in *neṭiṟṟoṭar* if the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* were to occur more than two letters have to precede it. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar seems to differentiate Nannūl from Tolkāppiyam.[7]

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7. See under Nannūl *sūtra* 39.

With reference to *uyiraḷapeṭai* he has made this clear. Under *kuṟṟiyalukaram sūtra* also he emphasises this. But he refers only to the *moḻimarapu sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam. But Pavaṇanti has taken into consideration Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 407 as well to avoid mentioning them once again under *kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṇarcci*. Pavaṇanti does not give a separate *kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṇariyal* but includes the rules therefore under *uyiriṟṟup-puṇariyal*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is right in saying that this is for the purpose of utilising the distinction in the chapter on *sandhi*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar also states that Pavaṇanti does not agree that the [*u*] in *nuntai* is a *kuṟṟiyalukaram*.

Pavaṇanti gives 36 varieties of *kuṟṟiyalukaram*. But /*ṭ*/ and /*ṟ*/ do not occur after semivowels and therefore one can only get 34. If so how can the figure of 36 could be justified. For this he gives the usage where *Viṉāyaka* is called the Lord of three *matas* though He has not the three. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar calls this *lakṣaṇa*. But a more satisfactory explanation is given by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.

In *sūtra* 40, for the shortening of the quantity Pavaṇanti has already pointed out with reference to *kuṟṟiyalukaram* that the coming of the letters on either side is necessary for its occurrence. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar emphasises the fact with reference to *aikārakkuṟukkam*, *aukārakkuṟukkam* and *āytakkuṟukkam*[8].

2.2.2.27.12 It has already been noted that Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is anxious to emphasise the older forms of the script. Under 43 also he does so.

The short /*e*/ and the short /*o*/ and the consonants have ceased to be written with a dot. This naturally causes a confusion between the short /*e*/ and /*o*/ and the long

8. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 40, 42.

/ē/ and /ō/; and between consonants and syllabic /ka/. It is to avoid the confusion that the ancient forms occurring with the dots are, according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, specifically emphasised.

2.2.2.27.13: Mayilaiṉātar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, have pointed out that *uyiraḷapeṭai* can have more than three *māttirais* as stated in Māpurāṇam. Naṉṉūl omits this extra increment. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar gives the reason for this[9]. He feels that this extra lengthening is due to metrical exigencies. Therefore by omitting such usages, Pavaṇanti restricts himself to the natural occurrences of *plūta* where it has only three *māttirais*.

2.2.2.27.14. The importance of the phrase *iyalpeḻu* "natural occurrences" in *sūtra* 45 is emphasised by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar by pointing out that one can consciously lengthen the duration of the twinkling of the eye or the snapping of the fingers.

After enumerating the *māttirais* Pavaṇanti defines the duration of a *māttirai* and this is referred to as the *utti*- '*piṉṉatu niṟuttal*'.

2.2.2.27.15 In *sūtra* 47 the initial sounds are mentioned as *uyirmey*. Ordinarily Pavaṇanti must have mentioned only the consonants. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that this is because the consonant apart from *uyirmey* cannot occur initially in Tamil. Pavaṇanti avoids the confusion by mentioning that specifically. This is the *utti* called *iṉṉatallatu ituveṉa moḻital*."

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9. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 36.

2 2 2.27.16 /ṅ/ is stated to have occurred initially in *sūtra* 61 because of the usages like *aṅṅaṉam* etc. The question is whether *aṅṅaṉam* may not be treated as a single word instead of a compound. *aṅṅaṉam* is to be compared with *aññāyiṟu*. In that both have a juncture after the demonstrative /a-/. The doubling of the nasal is itself due to the fact of the two words coming together. *ṅaṉam* according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar means a place or quality. But it does not, as he points out, occur as a free form. It always occurs in the bound form with the demonstrative and the interrogative bases as if it were as a prop even as a lame man walks with the help of his stretchers. All these are implied in the words *vaḷi, oṭṭi, ṅavvumām* used in Naṉṉūl In a way Naṉṉūl admits that /ṅ/ will not be an initial though it points out how it can be looked upon as an initial; and thus finally it refuses to admit the arguments of the other side. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, as already stated, is anxious to point out that Naṉṉūl *sūtras* are following the *matam* and *utti*, the conventions relating to the writing of books and to the interpretations of texts respectively. In this *sūtra* it follows, the *matam* called "*piṟar matam mēṟkoṇṭu kaḷaivu.*"

2.2.2.27.17 With reference to *sūtra* 53 an argument has been advanced by Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam against Naṉṉūl. Whereas in describing the *aḷapeṭai* Naṉṉūl specifies that the short vowel occurring after a long vowel is merely a symbol; it however states in that part of that book which enumerates the final sounds, that /e/ and /o/ occur as final sounds in *plūta*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar has to explain this contradiction. His answer is that unlike other vowels occurring in the final position as part of syllabic letters, this occurs as a vowel without any glide. Even as a corpse is spoken of sometimes as a person, this symbol itself is also spoken of as a sound.

All the various sounds can be classified under three categories called *uyir*, *mey* and *āytam*; in defining *sandhi* rules, their initial and final positions alone are important and here *āytam* does not play any part. Therefore Naṉṉūl according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar speaks of the words beginning with the vowels or consonants and ending with the vowels or consonants.

2.2.2.27.18 In explaining the clusters under *sūtra* 55 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar makes it clear that /k/, /c/, /t/, /p/ always cluster only as geminates, that each one of /r/, /ḻ/ will cluster only with the other consonants whilst the other will cluster with themselves and with other consonants.

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not mention Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar by name. But the controversy is whether the clustering will apply only to individual words. The preference for aberration from certain phonemic combin tion characterises the language and this basic principle of combination apply equally to individual words and compounds. That is the reason why in *sandhi* the sounds change when such combinations are not allowed in the language. The word '*medial*' does not refer to the medial position in the individual words alone but also to the medial position in a compound or phrase.

2.2.2.27.19 *Sūtra* 61 must have had an exception with reference to /y/. This is not a defect, but a beauty in composition called brevity according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.

2.2.2.27.20 Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam has criticised Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 65 about *makarakkuṟukkam*. *Sūtra* 41 had already stated the shortening of the quantity of /m/. Therefore the word *naintu* found in this *sūtra* 65, is only an *aṉuvātam* i.e.,

"a repetition with a purpose". Here also Cankaranamaccivāyar points out that the environment is important to bring out the shortening. The nasals which form the environment are the altered forms of the laterals. It is also made clear that this occurs in poetry. One may wonder in spite of this being a poetic usage why under 44, the four *māttirais* duration for *uyiraḷapeṭai* in poetic usage should not also be mentioned.

2.2.2.27.21 In *sūtra* 66 the ending is not mentioned because the *sūtra* refers to individual sounds and in such cases the sound will be occurring as an initial and as a final. This is *aruttāppatti* according to Cankaranamaccivāyar.

2.2.2.27.22 Under 69 *a°°ṟiṇaippeyar* is interpreted as *pālpakā a°°ṟiṇai-p-peyar* by Cankaranamaccivāyar. There the natural ending is /*m*/. Therefore the natural ending /*ṉ*/ is not to be taken here into consideration. It is also clear according to Cankaranamaccivāyar that where /*ṉ*/ comes for the final /*m*/ this /*ṉ*/ is not the ending of the masculine word.

There is no place for *pōli* such as *curumpu~curumpar* etc. There seems to be thus a *lacuna* in Naṉṉūl in describing the *pōli*. Ordinarily the author must have mentioned the initial sounds, the medial sounds and finally the final sounds. But the author begins with the final *pōli*. This displacement in the usual order suggests that there are other kinds of *pōli* like the one mentioned above according to Cankaranamaccivāyar.

Naṉṉūl also does not provide for the *pōli ñ- ~y-* mentioned in Tolkāppiyam 147 and Cankaranamaccivāyar points out that this has been omitted as the usage is no longer in force. The *utti* applied here is '*iṟantatu vilakkal*'.

2.2.2.27.23. With reference to *sūtra* 70 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that the short vowels cannot cluster together and therefore they have to be pronounced with certain amount of straining. /*ay*/ etc., really have 1½ *māttirais* and they can never be equal to /*ai*/ and /*au*/ which have two *māttirais* of duration each. Therefore there is no identity but only some kind of similarity. In addition to this he points out with reference to /*av*/ that /*v*/ is articulated in a different place [i.e. /*v*/ is a labiodental and not a labial]; /*av*/ is similar to /*au*/ only to a certain extent. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar has thus anticipated Aracañcaṉmukaṉār who points out that in the pronunciation of /*au*/ there is no trace for the labiodental /*v*/ to justify the equation of /*au*/ = /*av*/.

2.2.2.27.24 Instead of mentioning the vowel first, the *sūtra* 71 mentions the consonant. This is to suggest that the consonant will never occur without the *cāriyai* /*a*/. The *sūtra* mentions "*meykaḷ akaramum*" instead of '*meykaḷ avvum*'. This is to suggest that in forms like *makaram* which denote only /*m*/, the *karam* is the *cāriyai* for the other *cāriyai* /*a*/. The *sūtra* does not mention the environment for these various *cāriyais*. This is to be inferred according to the principle of propriety in usage called "*ēṟpuḷi-k-kōṭal*". This is to imply the /*ām*/ *cāriyai*. The *sūtra* is silent about the long syllabic letters, because they do not take any *cāriyai*. There is also no mention of *āytam* because it does not occur in the initial position. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out, however, that *āytam* is referred to otherwise in usage as *a°°kēṉam* though he does not mention this where *āytam* is placed in the medial position and other *cāriyais* are added. This is how we are told that *āytam* is referred to perhaps at the end of the vowels in the alphabet.

2.2.2.27.25 Though Cankaranamaccivāyar points out instances where Nannūl differs from Tolkāppiyam, he is also anxious to point out that Nannūl is not basically differing from Tolkāppiyam. In *sūtra* 96 Nannūl speaks of two words, (that is, *pakupatam* and *pakāppatam*) and in *pataviyal* that *pakupatam* and *pakāppatam* can be either a *peyar*, *vinai*, *iṭai* or *uri-c-col*. The *ticaiccol* 'dialectical words' and *vaṭacol* 'Sanskrit words' which are mentioned by Tolkāppiyam have not been referred to in *pataviyal*. This does not mean that Nannūl goes against Tolkāppiyam, for in *collatikāram* Nannūl refers to these as well. Cankaranamaccivāyar explains that these are included under *peyar*, *vinai* etc.

2.2.2.27.26. He gives the synonyms for *iyalpu* and *vikāram* viz., *iyalpu=iyarkai, tanmai; vikāram=ceyarkai, viti.*

2.2.2.27.27. In *sūtra* 98 the question arises as to why should there be any rule prescribed for *iyalpu*. Cankaranamaccivāyar's explanation is that the syntactical meaning depends on our knowing the differing *sandhi* rules. In *malar-k-kaṇai toṭuttān* the doubling of the plosive will give the meaning "he aimed the arrow of flowers". But if there is no doubling [i.e. where the no-change or natural rule applies] the form will be *malarkaṇai toṭuttān* which will mean "he aimed both the flowers and the arrow". *malarkkaṇai* will be a subordinate construction whereas *malarkaṇai* will be a coordinate construction. Therefore to know the syntactic construction and the semantic distinction even the *iyalpu* should be mentioned.

2.2.2.27.28. 99th *sūtra* in Nannūl is silent whether these *vikāras* apply to individual words or phrases. This is

because the changes sometimes belong to both the phrases as in the case of glides and to *cāriyais* as in the case of compounds.

Sūtra 100 stating the *ceyyuḷ vikāram* does not define any environment for the purpose of including all kinds of poetical licences irrespective of *sandhi.* There are individual words which undergo such changes like *vāḻiya* becoming *vāḻi.*

In 102 the *sūtra* speaks of two and three changes without mentioning cases of one change. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar explains, because cases of one change alone occurring has already been contemplated in *sūtra* 96 that has not been mentioned here and it goes without saying.

2.2.2.27.29 In *sūtra* 103 *evvakai moḻi* includes *viti iṟu sandhi* endings which remain after alteration. The /*um*/ in "*meli mikalumām*" contemplates the doubling of the semi-vowel. Naṉṉūl has not specifically stated it because such a doubling will not apply to "*kuṟil vaḻiya*" i.e "/*y*/ preceded by a short syllable" and "*taṉi* /*ai*/". Caṅkaranamaccivāyar further points out that Tolkāppiyam has also similarly laid down the rule for the semivowel in *tokaimarapu sūtra* 3. This is the interpretation given by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar to Tolkāppiyam for which both Iḷampūraṇar and Nacci-ṉārkkiṉiyar give a different meaning. Therefore Caṅkara-namaccivāyar adds that others have interpreted Tolkāppiyam without understanding the intention of the author. If the semivowel is not doubled there will be a hiatus between the two words. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar also points out under that *sūtra* that 108 in Naṉṉūl gives different rule for the /*e*/ ending.

2.2.2.27.30 Under *sūtra* 106 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar brings out the clear distinction between *ēval* and *mun̲n̲ilaivin̲ai*. In *mun̲n̲ilaivin̲ai* the ending is that of the suffix whereas in *ēval* the root itself occurs in imperative mood.

2.2.2.27.31 Under *sūtra* 107 it is pointed out that even as Mayilainātar did, there are others who take the coming in of the glide as a real *sandhi* rule. Tolkāppiyar himself mentions it only in *puṇariyal*. It is considered as a *karuvi* [ancillary to *sandhi*] and not as a *ceyal* [*sandhi*]. This position is explained further by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar. He states that "when two sounds which cannot become a cluster come together the glide comes in very much like a welding material; therefore some take it as a case of no-change". As Nan̲n̲ūl often follows Iḷampūraṇar it does not contradict him though it does not also agree completely with him. That is the force of the phrase '*uṭampaṭu meyyen̲r̲ākum*' which is used in Nan̲n̲ūl instead *uṭampaṭu mey tōn̲r̲um*. Thus Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets this *sūtra* of Nan̲n̲ūl in a suitable way so as to include different views as well. The exceptions under this rule are, as pointed out by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, covered by *sūtra* 184 in Nan̲n̲ūl.

Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar states that this glide or *uṭampaṭumey* will occur even between consonants as in '*viṇvattukkoṭkum*'.[10] This is an abuse of language because glide comes in as a kind of a body or consonant for the vowel. The coming in of /v/ in such cases should be brought under the extra word *ner̲i* occurring in *sūtra* 108. However that will not explain why the /v/ comes in.

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10. See under TE *sūtra* 140

He also points out that /v/ occurring in *evyāṉai* is not a glide. This is interesting. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar however will not consider it as a part of the interrogative or demonstrative base. It is interesting that the /y/ which occurs after the lengthening of the demonstrative base /a/ is said to be no glide. In *āyiṭai* one can explain that the glide /y/ comes in because of the vowel /i/ following it.

2.2.2.27.32 There is no rule equivalent to Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 109 in Tolkāppiyam as it is found now. For instance in the word *aḻaippatuvē*[11] the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* is not lost. This defect is tried to be cured by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar by the peculiar phrase *ōṭum* instead of the ordinary and direct term *keṭum*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar explains that this indirect way of stating it, should have a purpose and the purpose is to suggest this rule of no-loss.

Tolkāppiyam does not anywhere give a definite rule for the loss of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* when it is followed by a vowel. Somehow in order to find out this rule in Tolkāppiyam, both Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar combine *sūtras* 105, 106 and 139. This is certainly a very strange interpretation where nobody can suggest such distant *sūtras* should be linked together. But the main question is how else to find out the rule for *kuṟṟiyalukaram* in Tolkāppiyam. It is easy to criticise the commentators. One can therefore agree with Caṅkaraṉamaccivāyar that in many places these commentators offer strange interpretations which came to be considered as the opinion of Tolkāppiyar. It is because of these interpretations there seems to be many conflicts between Naṉṉūl and Tolkāppiyam. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar emphasises

11. Tolkāppiyam *puṇariyal sūtra* 46.

that Nannūl does not differ basically from Tolkāppiyam and warns us against assuming any such conflicts merely on the basis of these commentaries.

2.2.2.27.33 Under *sūtra* 111 it has to be pointed out that the general rule laid down in 110 will not apply to the names of trees. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that is why the conjunctive particle */um/* does not come after *inamelleluttu* "homorganic nasal".

In Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's reading we find the form *peruna*. According to him this is an altered form of *peruvana*. Mayilainātar gives the form *peruna*, for, forms with the dental */n/* are frequent in Tolkāppiyam and Caṅkam works.

2.2.2.27.34 In 112 the term *a°°rinai-p-panmai* is ambiguous because that may mean either the noun or the verb. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that since the *murru* or the finite verb has been already mentioned specifically then *a°°rinai-p-panmai* must necessarily refer to the noun. In the examples he mentions, for instance, *pala*, under various heads, he himself raises the question as to why this is done. These remarks are of grammatical importance, for, we learn from him that *pala* occurs in six different word classes, the different meanings however being made clear by context etc; [1] *pala* as a relative participle from a noun base *pal [panmai]* [2] as a *kurippu vinai murru* i.e. denominalised verb. [i.e. the finite verb with a noun base] [3] as *kurippu-p-peyareccam*, a word which according to context can become a denominalised relative participle with a noun base [4] as a *kurippu vinai-y-eccam*, a denominalised conjunctive participle [5] as a *kurippu vinaiyālanaiyum peyar*, a participial noun which belongs to the category of the plural non-humun nouns and [6] as a *peyar* i.e. plural non-human noun which is derived from nouns of quality *[panmai]*.

2.2.2.27.35 Under 113, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar wants to point out that *vāḻi* is the form which occurs even in verse whether a word follows it or not. For emphasising this significance he refers to the wording of the *sūtra*. The first sentence in this *sūtra* is *ēkalum urittu*. Therefore that sentence lays down the rule without reference to *sandhi*. The second sentence contemplates the no-change rule in *sandhi*. Therefore the first sentence does not give any *sandhi* rule but a *kaṭai-k-kuṟai* "the loss of final sound or syllable". Since it is a *kaṭai-k-kuṟai* one must refer to the usage where *vāḻi* for instance is the real word and not the verbal participle of *ceyyiya* pattern which can thus lose its last syllable. Interpreting this way he makes this *sūtra* self consistent without any defect.

2.2 2 27.36 Under 115, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar raises the question whether, really speaking, the word should be taken as *pal* or *cil* instead of *pala* and *cila* as taken in this *sūtra*. *pala* + *āyam* > *pallāyam*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar raises the question even as *naṉmai*, *vaṉmai*, etc., give the root *nal* and *val* why we should not take *pal* and *cil* as their original form and why we should not take the root as *pal* or *cil* and why we should not give the rule for *pal* in *pallāyam*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's explanation is as follows. This way of arriving at the form *pala* instead of *pal* is to show that *pal* never occurs in its free form and that it always occurs as a bound form either taking a root suffix or formative as in *paṉmai* or an ordinary suffix as in *palar*, *pala* etc. In this way Caṅkaranamaccivāyar tries to avoid the unnecessary complication introduced in the form *pala*. Here the *sūtra* does not say whether it is for *alvaḻi* or *vēṟṟumai*. But since the /a/ is lost, one gets the form *pal* which can occur only in *paṇpu-t-tokai*; then the *sūtra* will be applicable only to *alvaḻi*.

2.2.2.27.37. Under 117 he once again emphasises the nature of changes referred to in 113. The *sūtra* ends with the word *tūkkiṉ*. This makes it clear that the *sūtra* is referring to changes occurring in versification. Therefore these are not the ordinary *sandhi* changes. The question arises as to why these should be stated in this chapter. The answer is that they are mentioned here so as to clear the doubt whether they arise on account of *alvaḻi sandhi*. All further statements of this type, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar states should be interpreted in this way. As the *sūtra* stands, it looks as though, that all the changes should occur in every place. As a matter of fact, the usages show that one, two, or three of changes may take place. To get out of those changes Caṅkaranamaccivāyar relies on the word *tūkkiṉ* "in the verse". According to him in versification all the three changes may occur at one and the same time. The implication according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is that elsewhere one or two or three may occur. Here again this interpretation tries to cure the defect found in this *sūtra*.

2.2.2.27.38. *Sūtra* 121 refers to the /*i*/ and /*ai*/ endings. This rule is applicable according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar to non-human category of nouns. But there is nothing to restrict the *sūtra* in that way. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar tries to emphasise this restriction, by pointing out that since *sūtra* 104, 106 and 110 deal with *uyartiṇai* and *potu* "common" what is left for further discussion is only non-human nouns. Ordinarily speaking the /*ai*/ endings should come later in the chapter according to the order of the sounds in the alphabet. But here it is coupled with /*i*/ ending because both follow a similar rule. This *utti* is called *oppiṉmuṭittal*.

2.2.2.27.39. *Sūtra* 122 does not clearly define the environment. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar makes the whole *sūtra* as defining the environment, the environment which precedes and the environment which follows [*ā mun̲ pakara vī an̲aittum vara-k-kur̲ukum mēlan̲a alvaḻi iyalpā-kummē*.] He shows the importance of the phrases viz., *āmun̲ vara-k-kur̲ukum* and *iyalpākum* e. g. *ā* + *pī* [*v-*/ *c-*> *ā*+*pi*.>*āppi* "cowdung". The altered form thus comes to end in /*i*/. Since the general rule [121] will apply here too the question is why this should be asserted as *iyalpākummē*. Whenever a rule is laid down that rule should be (1) something which has never been stated before i. e. '*eytātatu eytuvittal*' or (2) a rule which is laid down in addition to the rule already stated, i. e. *eytiyatan̲ mēr cir̲appu viti* or (3) the abrogation of the rule already stated '*eytiyatu vilakkal*' or [4] abrogation of the old rule and laying down a new rule '*eytiyatu vilakki-p-pir̲itu viti vakuttal*' or [5] a rule which safeguards one already stated '*eytiyatu ikantupaṭāmai-k-kāttal*' whenever the possibility of doubt arises. This *sūtra* '*iyalpākum*' comes under the last category '*eytiyatu ikantupaṭāmai-k-kāttal*'

2 2.2 27.40 *Sūtra* 123 lays down the rule for *nī* "you" also. *nī* as will be seen in *peyariyal* is a *potu-p-peyar*, "a noun common to *uyartiṇai* and *aḵr̲iṇai*"[12]. The question therefore arises whether the general rule 104 may not apply to *nī*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that the general rule will apply only to words which have got the same form both in *alvaḻi* and *vēr̲r̲umai* and not to words like *nī* which when occurring in *vēr̲r̲umai* take a different form from what it has in *alvaḻi* i. e. it is a consonantal ending in *vēr̲r̲umai* and a vowel

12. See *sūtra* 25 in Tolkāppiyam *peyariyal*.

ending in *alvaḻi*. The implication is that no common rule is possible for two different endings. In this way Caṅkaranamaccivāyar answers a possible criticism that 123 is redundant as far as *ni* is concerned. The same argument applies to *sūtra* 163 dealing with *ni<u>n</u>*.

2.2.2.27.41 In 125 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar gives us the additional information that only *atu*+*a<u>nr</u>u*>*atā<u>nr</u>u* whereas *itu*+*a<u>nr</u>u*, *utu*+*a<u>nr</u>u* etc , do not undergo any such change. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar tries to get this information also from this *sūtra* itself. The *sūtra* makes *atu* alone as the environment for *a<u>nr</u>u* becoming *ā<u>nr</u>u*. The rule therefore will not apply to *itu* etc. This is how Caṅkaranamaccivāyar makes this *sūtra* self sufficient.

2.2.2.27.42. *Sūtra* 132 is not crystal clear. The form *teṅku* will be lengthened and the *uyirmey* ending there is said to be lost. The *sūtra* thus makes it clear that it is the final syllable which is lost. But it does not say which sound lengthens. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar argues since the final syllable has been referred to with reference to the loss, this lengthening should apply to the initial syllable.

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar notes that there is also the form *teṅkaṅkāy* other than *tēṅkāy* prescribed by the *sūtra* continuing in usages. An explanation is attempted to be given by Caṅkarānamaccivāyar from the *sūtra* itself. He points out that Nannūl does not say '*keṭṭē puṇarum*', "it will only be lost in *sandhi*." This does not seem to be a proper interpretation. If in spite of Iḷampūraṇar giving the form *teṅkaṅkāy* Nannūl omits it that must be because that form is not very frequent and the form *tēṅkāy* must be much more frequent. Mayilainātar himself writes for *tēṅkāy* as *ivvāṟu vaḻakkuṇmaiyi<u>n</u> ituvum eṭuttōti<u>n</u>āre<u>n</u>ka* "since this also occurs, he had

stated this form as well". He also implies that the form *teṅkaṅkāy* can occur. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar tries to find out a place in the *sūtra* itself for this implication.

2.2.2.27.43. In 133, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar realises that Naṉṉūl is taking the word for seven as ending in a vowel which is against Tolkāppiyar's views. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar wants to point out that Naṉṉūl's view is equally ancient and respectable i. e. according to him this is the force of the phrase "*eṉmaṉār pulavar*". At the same time Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is also desirous of showing that Naṉṉūl is not completely condemning Tolkāppiyar's position. That is why according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar Naṉṉūl uses the form *ēḻ* which is contemplated by Tolkāppiyam.

2.2.2.27.44 *Sūtra* 137 does not provide for *iyalpu* [no change] when the bound form ends in a dental nasal and when the following word begins with a dental plosive. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar argues that this non-alternation will be the result of *aruttāpatti*. The same argument applies to *sūtra* 166 as well.

2.2.2.27.45 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar explains the difference between the older views and the more recent views about *vēṟṟumai viri*. Taking for example *māṭattai-k-kaṭṭiṉāṉ* "he built the story" it was looked upon as one *sandhi* consisting of two words. But it is also possible to look upon it as consisting of four words viz., the noun *māṭam*, the *cāriyai attu*, the case sign /*ai*/ and the verb *kaṭṭiṉāṉ*. In that case this represents not to one *sandhi* but to three *sandhis*. It will not be *vēṟṟumai sandhi* but *iṭaiccol sandhi* under *alvaḻi*. These different viewpoints are made clear by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.

He also refers to the views of Naccinārkkiniyar that *vinaittokai, panpu-t-tokai* and *anmolittokai* are really single words and not compounds of two distinct words. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not agree with this and compares this statement to the statement "my mother is childless".[13]

2.2.2.27.46 Coming to the *meyyirru-p-punariyal* the importance of the term *iyalpu* in 149 had already been pointed out. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar makes the position of the opponents clear that their argument is based on the script form which certainly changes. But according to him what is important is the sound form and not the script form. He is also conscious that the consonant loses its quantity. But according to him this is the very nature of *uyir* and *mey* if we understand the relationship shown by the metaphor of life and body to which they refer respectively. He also points out that the two sounds are distinct though united. He gives the example of a double leaf. When there is a word of one short close syllable, the following vowel does not follow the rule of no change; for, in that case the final consonant of the first syllable doubles. This itself shows the difference between the no-change rule and change-rule thus justifying Nannūl's specific statement, "*utan mēl uyirvantonruvatiyalpē*".[14]

2.2.2.27.47. *Sūtra* 152 which deals with verbal nouns and *ēval* also is not clear. But the commentary makes the position clear. If /y/ is the initial sound of the following word, /u/ will not occur but only /i/. There are certain words always getting the /u/ as in *uriñu korrā*. According to

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13. See under Nannūl *sūtra* 97.
14. Nannūl *sūtra* 149

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar this is the force of the phrase *cilvaḻi* "in a few places". It will be thus seen that Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not leave any *lacuna.*

2.2.2.27.48 In *sūtra* 168, the word *kam* has more than one meaning in the age of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar. But since the rule stated therein applies to the word *kam* whatever be the meaning, the *sūtra* is not defective even when it does not define the particular meaning.

2.2.2.27.49 *Sūtra* 178 is said to be similar to the *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam 373. He also points out that /*ai*/ and /*ā*/ in *illāpporuḷ* and *illai-poruḷ* respectively are not negative suffixes. This is another instance where Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is anxious to point out that Naṉṉūl is true to Tolkāppiyam.

2.2.2.27.50 *Sūtra* 180 does not make it clear whether it applies to *alvaḻi* or *vēṟṟumai.* But since *sūtra* 195 is going to lay down for *vēṟṟumai*, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar successfully argues that this *sūtra* should be restricted to *alvaḻi.*

2.2.2.27.51 Coming to *urupiyal* in *sūtra* 185 there are certain difficulties arising from its phraseology. The *sūtra* refers to (1) masculine, (2) feminine, (3) epicene, (4) neuter singular and (5) plural nouns. The question then is whether *potu-p-peyar* which is common to both *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* may not take the case signs. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's explanation is that the *sūtra* uses the word *peyar* which refers to the meaning and not to any particular form of word. Even in the case of *potu-p-peyar* when it is used it must denote accordingly to the content only of any one of the five. Here again it will be seen that Caṅkaranamaccivāyar tries to avoid a criticism which may be raised otherwise.

2.2.2.27.52 In 186 he emphasises the importance of every word in the *sūtra* so that nothing seems to be redundant. According to him *vaḻi varuvaṉa* "those that come after the noun" are only the seven case signs other than the subject where there is no separate case sign and "*tamporuḷ tara varuvaṉa*" are "those which come to connote their meaning". The phrase applies to all the eight cases because the nominative case also has its separate meaning.

2.2.2.27.53 Under *sūtra* 187 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar clarifies certain issues. The *sūtra* is with reference to the initial sounds and final sounds of *urupu*. According to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar it has nothing to do with the *sandhi* occurring with reference to the word preceding or the word following *urupu*. Such a *sandhi* is contemplated by the rules laid down in *uyirīṟṟu-p-puṇariyal* and *meyyiṟṟu-p-puṇariyal*. This is made clear by *sūtra* 184. There are certain words like *tāṉ*, *tām* etc., which get their initial syllables shortened not only whilst taking the case sign, but also elsewhere. This change is not due to *sandhi* rules. They occur because of syntactic or declensional constructions. That is the reason why they are mentioned in *urupu-puṇariyal*.

In this *sūtra* 187, mention is made of noun alone. That is because according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, the verb does not come in the declensional compounds. But it must be remembered that Cēṉāvaraiyar takes a form containing a noun and a verb like *nilaṅkaṭantāṉ* as a compound. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar interprets *vēṟṟumai-p-puṇarppu* as the *sandhi* where the case sign occurs. Therefore these are not *alvaḻi* and therefore *alvaḻi* rules cannot apply to them. Hence arises the necessity for treating them separately in *urupu-puṇariyal*.

2.2.2.27.54 *Sūtra* 188 gives a classification of *cāriyais*. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar does not include under these such forms as *māṭakku* etc., which according to him are cases of metrical licence.

In 189 in addition Caṅkaranamaccivāyar enumerates *taṉ*, *tāṉ*, *tām*, *ām* and *ā* as *cāriyais*.

2.2.2.27.55 In 190 also Caṅkaranamaccivāyar shows that *tam*, *nam*, *num* are three different homonymous words which may be therefore pronouns or *cāriyais*. But even when they are *cāriyais* (*tam* comes only in III person and *num* only in II person (according to the next *sūtra*) whilst *nam* comes only in the I person (according to the *sūtra* 191). Here also Caṅkaranamaccivāyar has in mind Tolkāppiyam. According to Tolkāppiyam I person belongs to the human category or *uyartiṇai*. Therefore Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that words like *pāṇarēm*, "we are *pāṇars*" are not *potu-p-peyar* but really belong to *uyartiṇai* category. Similarly *ellām* etc., according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, belong to the human category. He also points out the importance of certain words in this *sūtra*. The /*um*/ found in this *sūtra* is the *muṟṟummai*, "/*um*/ of completion" without leaving anything out which is absolutely necessary after *ellām*. This *ellām* will never occur without the *cāriyai aṟṟu* or *nam*. This inseparable nature is the meaning of *ōṭu* which is added on with the *cāriyai aṟṟu*.

2.2.2.27.56 *Sūtra* 193 is another example where the meaning of the word given is not specified even when there are more meanings than one. But Caṅkaranamaccivāyar argues that the meaning is suggested indirectly. If /*ā*/ and /*kō*/ meant the animal then the *sūtra* must have followed the

alphabetical order *ā*, *kō* and *mā*. Since *kō* is not mentioned along with *ā* it is clear it does not mean a cow but a king and similarly *mā* coming after must mean like *ā*, an animal and not anything else.

2.2.2.27.57 *Sūtra* 196 lays down the rule for *a°°tu*, *i°°tu* etc., being followed by /*a<u>n</u>*/. There is the other form of the demonstrative pronoun occurring without the *āytam*. Since *a°°tu* etc., become *atu* etc., and take the /*a<u>n</u>*/ *cāriyai*, it is also implied that *atu* etc., even when they are not alternants of the *āytam* forms will take the /*a<u>n</u>*/ *cāriyai*. He has to bring out this implication because there is no *sūtra* in Na<u>nn</u>ūl laying down the *cāriyai* for the demonstrative pronoun *atu* etc., similar to Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 177. As already stated Caṅkaranamaccivāyar is anxious to make Na<u>nn</u>ūl agree with Tolkāppiyam.

2.2.2.27.58 There is no *sūtra* corresponding to Tolkāppiyam 186 or 196. According to the former, words ending in /*m*/ take the *cāriyai attu*. According to the latter the words ending in *ku<u>rr</u>iyalukaram* take the *cāriyai* /*i<u>n</u>*/. Na<u>nn</u>ūl does not provide for these. All these however according to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar are covered by the Na<u>nn</u>ūl *pu<u>r</u>anaṭai sūtra* 188. There is another dfficulty arising from the wording of this *sūtra*. All the *cāriyais* are *iṭaiccol* or *iṭaippatam*. If so why one of these alone is called *pataccāriyai*? Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's explanation is that this is to distinguish the *e<u>l</u>uttu-c-cāriyai* and *pata-c-cāriyai*. Here is an attempt to show that there is no confusion or contradiction to the position taken elsewhere.

2.2.2.27.59 Under 200 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that all the instances are contemplated under this *sūtra*. All the *sandhi* alternations relating to vowels and consonants

of *cāriyais* are contemplated by the first line. As far as the second case sign is concerned, unlike the other case signs, it does not suffer any optional ellipsis. The rule is that the second case sign does not suffer any ellipsis in *viravu-p-peyar* and *uyartiṇai-p-peyar*. But it is also proper for these to suffer ellipsis under certain occasions viz., when syntactic ambiguity has to be restored. In such places the ellipsis will be a strange usage. All these are brought out by the terms '*virintu tokkum*,' and '*virintu ni<u>nr</u>um*'. The curious meaning of *ni<u>nr</u>um* has been already discussed. The rules mentioned here are not applicable to each and every occurrence. That is the force of the phrase '*oppa<u>n</u>a koḷalē*' "one has to use one of the rules which is according to the usage."

Sūtra 201 uses the term '*tammi<u>n</u>ākiya to<u>l</u>in mo<u>l</u>i*'. We have already discussed about this. This phrase is as old as Tolkāppiyam. But the term will not be clear to the modern generation. The term has to be understood from the usage. "*tammi<u>n</u>ākiya to<u>l</u>inmo<u>l</u>i*" takes the verb '*paṭṭā<u>n</u>*' in the sentence '*pēykōṭpaṭṭā<u>n</u>*'. It is the verb or '*to<u>l</u>il*' which is here the '*tammi<u>n</u>ākiya to<u>l</u>il*'. The word '*kōḷ*' before *paṭṭān* is '*iṭaippi<u>r</u>avaral*' "parenthesis" or "non-immediate constituents" because it will not go with the subject as an immediate constituent. But *kōḷ* is '*tam to<u>l</u>il*' i. e. the predicate verb of the active agent and not of the passive agent. *paṭṭā<u>n</u>* is the predicate of the passive agent. But *kōḷ* and *paṭṭā<u>n</u>* are clubbed together as one word. In that case, that compound word or verb becomes *tammi<u>n</u>ākiya to<u>l</u>il* or the predicate of the passive agent. For, in these cases *paṭṭā<u>n</u>* is the headword and *kōḷ* becomes its attribute. If these words *kōṭpaṭṭā<u>n</u>* etc., are not considered as one unit but taken as two units *kōḷ* will have the meaning of the verbal participle *koḷḷa*. This

verbal participle will be the predicate of the active agent *avan̲* etc. The verbal participle goes with the finite verb. In this way the term *tammin̲ākiya toḻin̲ moḻi* is clearly explained to the modern generation. He also points out that what is called the subject can occur in the instrumental case or in the nominative case. Therefore it may be argued it is the *tan̲toḻil* which is referred to as the *tammin̲ākiya toḻil*. If that were so in the phrase *pēy piṭittatu* where the nominative case occurs, the instrumental case must be equally applicable and *pēy piṭittatu* and *pēyāṟ piṭittatu* should be equally idiomatic. This is not so. Therefore it can never be said that *tammin̲ākiya toḻil* which take the instrumental case as its subject is, in Tamil, the same as *tan̲toḻil* which takes the nominative as its subject.

2.2.3 CIVAÑĀṈACUVĀMIKAḶ'S COMMENTARY ON NANṈŪL

2.2.3.1 Author, works etc., : Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ is held in great respect by the modern orthodox grammarians. He is the greatest grammarian of the eighteenth century. He has written two essays, one in the form of a commentary on the introductory verse of Tolkāppiyam and the other in the form of a commentary on the first *sūtra* in Tolkāppiyam. Really speaking these are intended for expressing his grammatical opinions, conceptions and explanations to the many wordings in Tolkāppiyam for which different interpretations were given by other commentators. The two works are called *Tolkāppiya-p-pāyira virutti* and *Tolkāppiya mutaṟ cūttira virutti*. They are of great importance. Many of the positions taken by him in these two essays and explained at length are further referred to in a summary manner in his other works. The other two grammatical works are [1] the criticism on Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam called *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* and [2] the corrections he made in Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's commentary on Naṉṉūl. The views which Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ expressed in criticizing IV had already been explained in detail in our study on IV and hence they are not repeated here.

2.2.3.2. His contribution:

2.2.3.2.1 Some conceptions: Apart from minor criticisms his standing contributions mentioned in the two essays may be summarised as follows:

2.2.3.2.1.1 *Cārpeḻuttu*: His conception of *cārpeḻuttu* is based on Tolkāppiyam and therefore he refuses to include

more than the three mentioned by Tolkāppiyar, under this head. But it is curious that when he comes to correct Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's commentary on Naṉṉūl he has changed his views and argues that Tolkāppiyam has taken three *carpeḻuttus* only because it has in view only the *sandhi* rules to be framed by him. Pavaṇanti, however, he points out has not only the *sandhi* rules but also prosody in his mind and therefore he speaks of ten kinds of *cārpeḻuttu*[1].

2.2.3.2.1.2 *Cārpu nūl*: His conception of *vaḻinūl* may be discussed here alone. From early times, compositions, especially grammatical compositions are divided into three kinds - one is the *mutal nūl*, "primary book on the subject;" *vaḻi nūl* is what comes thereafter. Of these, there may be two kinds. In one there is perfect agreement between the secondary book and the primary book. In the other, there will be certain differences. The second category is called by some as *cārpu nūl*. The differences however should not be against the established opinions which have become conventions. Therefore when changes are introduced they should be based on certain conventions and should never go against conventions[3]. In this way one has to distinguish the changes introduced according to the conventions and changes going against them.

Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ proceeds to exemplify these changes mainly having Naṉṉūl in view. His explanations with reference to phonology alone need be mentioned here.

1. Naṉṉūl Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's commentary revised by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ, p. 43.
2. *Ilakkaṇa-k-kottu*, *Pāyira virutti*, p. 8.
3. Ibid.

[a] Prosody usually deals with *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*. It is not against the established convention to deal with it in the chapter on phonology itself where there is a discussion on *uyiraḷapeṭai*[4].

[b] Ancient authorities have dealt with initial, medial and final positions and also with the position where a sound occurs by itself in monosyllabic words. Instead of these four positions if one author speaks only of the initial, medial and final positions he is not going against convention since *taṉinilai* is taken either as the initial or the final sound according to the context[5].

[c] The ancient authority, like Tolkāppiyam in giving *sandhi* rules for the words ending in /*m*/, speaks first of the loss of the nasal and then of the coming in of the homorganic nasal. Instead if a subsequent writer in explaining these *sandhi* rules speaks of the nasal /*m*/ becoming or changed into the homorganic nasal he is not going against any conventions because his rule is in essence not different.[6]

[d] When *akam*+*kai* come together Tolkāppiyam speaks of all but the initial sound being lost in the first word and then the coming in of a nasal. When a subsequent writer speaks, in such a place, of the loss of the medial /*k*/+/*a*/ and of the final /*m*/ changing into the homorganic nasal, this will not be similarly going against the convention, for, in effect the same rule is given[7].

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

[e] When giving the rules about the number, for instance, for *iraṇṭu* it is stated that /*ṭu*/ is lost; that /*ṇ*/ becomes /*r*/ and that thereafter the first /*r*/ is lost. Instead of this if the same rule is stated in terms of the loss of the final /*ṭu*/; the loss of retroflex nasal, the loss of /*a*/ and /*r*/ there is no opposition to the convention in giving the forms[8].

[f] In *nāku+yātu* it is sometimes said that the /*u*/ of the first word is lost and that /*i*/ emerges. A subsequent writer may write the same thing in terms of the /*u*/ itself changing into /*i*/ without going against any convention.[9]

[g] With reference to pronouns which when declined get their initial syllable shortened as in *nām>nam* etc., it is stated by Tolkāppiyam that when these words take the genitive case sign or the dative case sign an /*a*/ comes in between their base and the case sign [*nama* and *namakku*] and that thereafter the /*a*/ of the genitive case sign is lost when the latter follows a word ending in /*a*/ i.e. the *cāriyai* /*a*/ laid down in the previous rule. If Naṉṉūl instead of giving these rules in that form, simply says that /*a*/ will come with reference to these words only when taking the dative case sign /*ku*/ it is not going against convention[10].

[h] In forms like *āṭikku* etc., Tolkāppiyam provides for /*ikku*/ *cāriyai* and also provides for the loss of /*i*/ when following a word ending in /*i*/ where therefore only /*ku*/ will remain. If Naṉṉūl instead of providing for /*ikku*/ provides for only /*ku*/ it is not going against any convention[11].

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8. Ibid pp. 7 and 8.
9. Ibid p. 9.
10. Ibid p. 10.
11. Ibid

[i] Tolkāppiyam mentions the *cāriyai /vaṟṟu/* and provides also for the disappearance of its initial /*v*/, thus ultimately giving only /*aṟṟu*/. If Naṉṉūl straight away mentions only the form of the *cāriyai /vaṟṟu/* it is not going against the *mutal nūl*[12].

Tolkāppiyam mentions only /*iṉ*/ and treats the form /*iṟṟu*/ as the altered form of /*iṉ*/ ultimately giving us /*iṉ*/ and /*iṟṟu*/. If Naṉṉūl without much complication takes both /*iṉ*/ and /*iṟṟu*/ as two *cāriyais* it is not going against any established rule[13].

Tolkāppiyam gives us the *cāriyai /akku/* providing for the loss of /*ku*/ and therefore ultimately leaves only /*a*/. If Naṉṉūl instead of mentioning /*akku*/ mentions only the *cāriyai /a/* it is preserving the old rule[14].

It will be seen that Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ is having Naṉṉūl alone in his mind when explaining these differences. But he goes also to illustrate changes which go against the established conventions. One is that where instead of speaking only of three *cārpeḻuttus* as accepted by Tolkāppiyar one speaks of ten. The second is where one [Pavaṇanti] speaks of the I person as being common to *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* whilst Tolkāppiyam has definitely stated that I person belongs to *uyartiṇai*[15].

Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ raises the question whether an author may not write a book according to the best of his lights, with-

12. Ibid
13. Ibid
14. Ibid
15. Ibid

out taking into consideration the establised conventions[16]. His reply is based on an old *sūtra*[17]. If the established conventions are changed the whole science would become completely revolutionised. The question is raised as to whether on account of the time changing the usages and the rules do not similarly change[18]. His reply is that this is not permitted. It is only when one can speak of an ancient usage as a mistake that one, according to him, will be entitled to remove that usage from one's discussion in a book. It is only then that one will be justified in describing a later usage differing from the older one as correct. This can never be. This usage of the older authors is always the correct usage. Any usage differing from them cannot be accepted as grammatical. That is why he points out that Tolkāppiyam speaks *vaḻakku* as that of great men[19]. Introduction of new usages are acceptable only if they do not go against the conventions. This is the position taken by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ and this will explain why Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ is anxious to make Naṉṉūl applicable to ancient usages mentioned in Tolkāppiyam as will be seen from the corrections, alternations and additions made by him to the commentary of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.

2.2.3 2.2 OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS:

2.2.3.2.2.1 *atikāram*: One may go to consider the other important contributions of him. He is against the explanation of the word *atikāram* given by the commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. He explains *atikāram* following Sanskrit grammarians.[20]

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16. Ibid p. 10.
17. Ibid p. 10.
18. Ibid
19. Ibid
20. Ilakkaṇa-k-kottu, *mutaṟ cūttira virutti*, p. 19.

2.2.3.2.2.2 Order of sounds: Another one is the elaborate explanation for the sounds occurring in the order in which they do in the Tamil alphabet.[21] His explanation for /ḻ/, /ṟ/, /ṉ/ occurring at the end is that they do so for the purpose of showing that they are pure Tamil sounds. Of these /ḻ/ is placed along with the other semivowels; /ḻ/ precedes /ḷ/ because in Sanskrit /ḷ/ is only an allophone of /l/. /y/, /r/, /l/ and /v/ are placed in the order of their articulation from the back of the mouth to the lips. It is curious that in all these cases except /y/, /r/, /l/, /v/, Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ is depending on the Sanskrit alphabet for explaining the Tamil alphabet. It is also curious that he speaks of /y/ as being articulated at *aṭi aṇṇam*, a mistake which Naṉṉūl commits and a mistake which Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam points out.

We have already discussed the conception of *iṉam* and Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's criticism on the views of others. He admits in one way the place of articulation becoming the basis of the conception of *iṉam*.[22] He speaks of *akamuyaṟci-p-piṟappu* or *abyantra prayatna* and *puṟamuyaṟci-p-piṟappu* or *bāhya prayatna*. /a/, /ā/ and /k/, /ṅ/ have similar *akamuyaṟci-p-piṟappu*[23] but differ in *puṟamuyaṟci-p-piṟappu* which lead to the difference in their quantities or their plosive and nasal characters. On this basis both in the list of vowels and consonants except semivowels, sounds were arranged two by two as forming kindred sounds. This explains the order of the vowels and the order of the plosives and nasals. All the semi-vowels form one group of kindred sounds and come after the plosives and nasals.

21. Ibid pp. 24–27.
22. Ibid p. 24
23. Ibid pp. 24 and 25.

The question then is why amongst the consonants velars come first, then the palatals, then the cerebrals, then the dental and then the labials. The answer is that this is the order arranged according to their places of articulations starting from the back of the tongue and coming to the lip.[24] Therefore on the basis of the place of articulation they are placed in the alphabet. As for the question why the plosives precede the nasals, the answer is, that stronger must precede the weak.[25] The intermediary semivowels are placed after the plosives and nasals. So that their nature may be clearer after an understanding of the other two.[26] Coming to explain the vowels Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ points out that they precede the consonants because they occur independently whereas the consonants cannot be articulated by themselves.[27] Whatever be the philosophical position with reference to *nāda* one has to point out that the semivowels and nasals can also be sounded without the help of the vowels. That is the reason why most of them become syllabic consonants in Tamil in *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*. Within the vowels, the long vowels according to him are really two short vowels which are bound together. Therefore the short vowels precede the long vowels. Among the vowels /*a*/, /*i*/, /*u*/ are placed first in that order because one proceeds from the neutral position of the tongue in /*a*/ to the palatal position of /*i*/ and to the lip rounding position of /*u*/ in articulating these three vowels. On account of the explanation he raises the question, since long vowels are merely the combinations of two short vowels whether the rules applicable to short

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24. Ibid p. 25
25. Ibid
26. Ibid
27. Ibid p. 26

vowels will be applicable to long vowels. His answer is that this cannot be because the rules laid down for short vowels are only with reference to short vowels standing alone without combining. It is interesting to note that here also he closes this discussion with a reference to the *Mahābāshya* of Patañjali and the other work *Kaiyaṭa*.[28]

Since the long vowels by themselves become words and in other words from part of words and create contrasts in meaning, they are separately mentioned amongst the vowels in addition to the short vowels. Here one may note the conception of phoneme as being a contrastive sound being adumbrated.[29] *aḷapeṭai* according to Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ does not occupy this important contrastive position. It is true that in *aḷapeṭai* we get the combination of the long vowel and the short vowel resulting in the lengthening of the quantity. There is no question however of any contrast in meaning created by *aḷapeṭai*. He also quotes Tolkāppiyam for justifying his conclusion. He criticises other commentators who refer to the simile of two quantities of water combining together and to the simile of two fingers coming together. He also critises those like the author of Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam who argue that *aḷapeṭai* connot be included under the vowels and therefore it should be placed under *cārpeḻuttu*. The long and the short vowel do not stand apart like two fingers coming together. If that were so, he argues, those sounds will be called *eḻutteṭai* instead of *aḷapeṭai*.[30] The other criticisms mentioned here have already been discussed.

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28. Ibid p. 26
29. Ibid
30. Ibid

Here also he refers to the Sanskrit grammarians to show that *uyiraḷapeṭai* is also a vowel. So far the short vowel /a/, /i/, /u/ and their long counterparts have been explained. /e/ comes next because it is the combination of /a/+/i/. /ai/ comes in because of the combination /a/+/y/+/i/. After this combination comes /au/. /o/ comes in first because it is the combination of /a/+/u/. /au/ comes in because it is the combination of /a/+/v/+/u/.[31] This conception of *sandhi akṣara* has already been discussed. Therefore his conception of *uyiraḷapeṭai* and *sandhi akṣara* may be taken as two other contributions of him.

2.2.3.2.2.3 *aikārakkuṟukkam* and *aukārakkuṟukkam* :

His elucidation of *aikārakkuṟukkam* etc., including his justification of the position of Avinayam which others have severely criticised may also be mentioned. He however points out that /ai/ does not suffer any diminution in quantity in the initial position [which is the position of Naṉṉūl]. If it were to suffer, the shortened /ai/ will be having one *māttirai* like any short vowel. If that were so in words like *vaikal* the first syllable where /ai/ occurs should be considered as short vowel and the metrical unit there will be a *nirai*. Taken in that way there will be no proper rhythm occurring in that verse, for instead of being a foot it will be only a metrical syllable in that *Nālaṭiyār* verse.[32].

He also objects to the statement that /ai/ when pronounced separately by itself will not suffer any diminution. He points out that Tolkāppiyam has definitely stated that whether a word is pronounced with other sounds or is pronounced alone there will be no change whatsoever. He also points out that /au/ which is said to suffer diminution cannot

31. Ibid p. 27 32. Ibid p. 33

suffer such a diminution because in such a case the metre will be affected as explained in the case of /*ai*/. He agrees with Nannūl that /*au*/ does not occur except in the initial position. Hence there is no question of its occurrence elsewhere as in the case of /*ai*/. He therefore refuses to accept any *aukārakkuṟukkam*[33]. He is here going against not only Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam but also Naṉṉūl itself.

2.2.3.2.2.4 *uṭampaṭu mey*: The other contribution is with reference to *uṭampaṭumey*[34]. *uṭampaṭu* is, according to him, so called because it brings together two vowels. Tolkāppiyam has not specified these glides. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ argues that the vowels can be brought together by only such semi-vowels which are articulated where these two vowels are articulated. Of the six semivowels /*v*/ and /*y*/ alone occur in initial position and they alone come as glides. /*y*/ comes after /*i*/ /*ī*/ and /*ai*/ and /*v*/ after others. Though not specifically stated in Tolkāppiyam this has to be concluded according to him from the basis of the conventions. Here the convention is *ēṟpuḻikkōṭal*. "Application of rules on the basis of the rules where they might suitably apply." He also quotes an old *sūtra*[35].

In this connection he takes up the interpretation given by Naccіṉārkkiṉiyar wherein he includes among the glides the consonants for instance the /*v*/ in *viṇvattukkoṭkum* Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ does not admit them as glides[36]. When two consonants come together there is no necessity for a glide.

33. Ibid pp. 33 and 34.
34. Ibid p. 45.
35. Ibid p. 46; "*uṭampaṭu meyyē yakāra vakāra muyirmutaṉ moḻi varūuṅ kālai-y-āṉa*".
36. Ibid p. 46.

To call such /v/ a glide will be an abuse of language. Glide is not the result of a *sandhi* but only a means of avoiding hiatus and that is why the glide is not given in *uyirmayaṅkiyal* but in the previous portion of Tolkāppiyam where the *karuvi* or aids to *sandhi* are explained.

Similarly the *sūtras puḷḷi īṟṟumuṉ* etc., are given not as *sandhi* rules but as preliminaries to *sandhi*[37]. These *sūtras* refer to the written form With reference to the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* as in *nākɯ+aritɯ>nākaritɯ* there is really a *sandhi* change and it cannot be grouped together with such *sūtras* as referring to written forms. Therefore one is not justified in implying this rule from the *sūtra* "*kuṟṟiyalukaramum aṟṟeṉa moḻipa*[38] which occurs outside the last three *iyals* dealing with *sandhi* proper. Naccinārkkiniyar and other commentators have not grasped this fundamental scheme of Tolkāppiyam. They feel that *sūtras* '*puḷḷiyīṟṟumuṉ*' and *meyyīṟṟumuṉ* refer to *sandhi* rules applicable to sounds. It is because of this wrong understanding of the convention that they speak of linking *kuṟṟiyalukaram* with these *sūtras*. It is again because of this that they have interpreted the *uyirttal* with reference to *uyirmey* as meaning sounding. This last criticism has already been explained.

2.2.3.2.3 Corrections in *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's* **commentary:** The corrections which Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ made in the commentary written by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar may be summarily mentioned, as most of the corrections follow his discussions in his other works.[39]

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37. Ibid.
38. TE *sūtra* 106.
39. The page numbers given in this portion are according to the Ārumuga Nāvalar's edition (June, 1957) of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's commentary on Naṉṉūl revised by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.

2.2.3 2.3.1 The meaning of the word *eluttatikāram*, the real distinction between *karuvi* and *ceykai*, the further distinction between *potu-k-karuvi* and *cirappu-k-karuvi*, the conception of *cārpeluttu* have already been pointed out and he introduces these ideas in this correction.[40]

2.2.3 2.3.2 We had seen Civaññāṉacuvāmikaḷ holding the view that there cannot be more than three kinds of *cārpeluttu*. But in page 43 he has however to justify Naṉṉūl's position and therefore he writes that Naṉṉūl speaks of ten kinds of *cārpeluttu* having in view the chapter on prosody where Tolkāppiyam in clarifying the *cārpeluttu* having only the *sandhi* rules in view.

2.2.3.2.3.3 The explanation regarding the order of the sounds in the alphabet are repeated on page 49. Similarly the conception of *sandhiakṣara* is given on page 50. He repeats his argument that sounds are related [*iṉam*] through their common place of birth i.e. articulation.

2.2.3.2.3.4 In explaining the pronunciation he has noticed certain details and that is why he points out that it is the lower lip which is mentioned in Naṉṉūl that reaches the upper teeth.[41]

2.2.3.2.3.5 In describing the form of the syllabic letters, it had been already pointed out the he emphasises the script form where the letters get the *pulli* or the upper and

40. Naṉṉūl, Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's commentary revised by Civaññāṉacuvāmikaḷ p. 39.

41. Ibid p. 55. Naṉṉūl mentions only "the lip" and not the "lower lip".

lower hooks, the spiral mark etc. Following Naccinārkkiniyar he points out that the *pulli* drawn to the right of a letter is written now as a *kāl* [or a rectangle with the lower side open].[42]

2.2.3.2.3.6 He repeats his conception of *uyiraḷapeṭai* and suitably changes so as to suit Nannūl.[43]

2.2.3.2.3.7 In many places Civañānacuvāmikaḷ explains the number of the individual *cārpeḻuttu*. For the *uyiraḷapeṭai* Nannūl has given the number as twenty one. There are seven long vowels and they get the extra lengthening in the initial, medial and final positions. This will give us [3×7] twenty one varieties. But /au/ does not occur according to Nannūl in the medial or the final positions. Therefore deducting these two, there can be only nineteen. But Civañānacuvāmikaḷ adds that these two vacancies are filled up by [1] *innicai aḷapeṭai* and [2] *collicai aḷapeṭai*.[44]

2.2.3.2.3.8 Similarly for *kurriyalukaram* we have seen Caṅkaranamaccivāyar was not in a position to arrive at the number thirty six. Civañānacuvāmikaḷ arrives at the figure thirty six on the basis of the sounds preceding the final syllable viz., the seven vowels [immediately preceding the final syllable without any sound coming in between them and any long vowels preceding them] one *āytam*, the eleven vowels [omitting /au/ which does not occur medially and finally] six plosives, six nasals and five semivowels [omitting /v/ which will not cluster with the plosives] [7+1+11+6+6+5=36].[45]

42. Ibid p. 56
43. Ibid pp. 58 and 59.
44. Ibid pp. 59 and 60.
45. Ibid p. 62

2.2.3.2.3.9 He repeats his arguments justifying the division of *kuṟṟiyalukaram* on the basis of the metrical foot preceding the final syllable. But he is not, in explaining his theory in this commentary, very enthusiastic. He points out that *pōvatu* "going" etc., do not come under any of the seven kinds of metrical feet contemplated.[46] What precede the final syllables are really two metrical feet. If one takes into consideration the foot which precedes immediately the final syllable then the *nēr* found there is not one amongst the seven, for, Avinayam has omitted the short open syllable. But he finds another way of explaining this kind of word, instead of emphasising the metrical foot immediately preceding the final plosive. One may expect the foot to occur anywhere in the word. In that case the first long syllable may be taken into consideration as in *pōvatu*. After having in a way explained the theory of Avinayam, he concludes true to Naṉṉūl that no purpose is served by this strange kind of classification.[47]

2.2.3.2.3.10 There is another correction introduced in the commentary on *kuṟṟiyalukaram*. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar was of the opinion that Pavaṇanti does not agree with Tolkāppiyam in having a *kuṟṟiyalukaram* in the initial syllable of *nuntai*. By the time of Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ it is clear that people were trying to make Naṉṉūl more or less on all fours with Tolkāppiyam. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ therefore finds a place for the *kuṟṟiyalukaram* in *nuntai* in Naṉṉūl itself on account of the *utti-moliyātataṉaiyum muṭṭiṉṟi muṭittal* "explaining the forms that are not mentioned where there will arise no conflict in the text"[48].

46. Ibid p. 64
47. Ibid
48. Ibid

2.2.3.2.3.11. He also brings in the *kurriyalukarakku-rukkam* under the same *utti*[49].

2.2.3.2.3.12 The necessity for the words *pira mērro-ṭaravum perumē* in Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 39 on *kurriyalukaram* has been explained in his criticism on Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam. It is repeated here.

2.2.3.2.3.13 There is a difference found in the reading in Caṅkaranamaccivāyar and in the correction made by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar points out that even when a *cāriyai* follows /*ai*/ will suffer a diminution in quantity. Therefore when /*ai*/ occurs in a word which is an open monosyllable, in some places, it may suffer no diminution. It occurs isolated in such places. Therefore Civañāṉa-cuvāmikaḷ's commentary states that it does not come pre-ceded or followed by any other word. But Caṅkara-namaccivāyar's commentary uses the word '*toṭarntu*' instead of '*toṭarātu*'[50] contemplating cases where the monosyllabic words occurred, followed or preceded by other words. Perhaps Caṅkaranamaccivāyar also probably uses the word '*toṭarātu*'. It has already been pointed out that Caṅkara-namaccivāyar does not agree that *aḷapeṭai* should be mentioned here. To this extent Civañāṉcuvāmikaḷ points out that Naṉṉūl is opposed to Avinayam. But Caṅkara-namaccivāyar had not pointed out and has not also accepted that /*ai*/ and /*au*/ in the initial positions will have $1\frac{1}{2}$ *māttirais* each as stated in Avinayam. Therefore according to him the whole of Naṉṉūl *sūtra* is opposed to Avinayam[51].

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49. Ibid p. 64
50. Ibid p. 65.
51. Ibid.

But in criticising the conception of /*ai*/ and /*au*/ *kuṟukkams* by others, Civañanacuvāmikaḷ has pointed out that in metre /*ai*/ and /*au*/ should be considered to have 1½ *māttirais* in the initial position. Therefore as far as this position is concerned he argues that Naṉṉūl accepts by implication the position of Avinayam. According to him this should be a matter of inference. He repeats what he has stated elsewhere about /*ai*/ and /*au*/ *kuṟukkams* here.

2.2.3.2.3.14 He has taken Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam to task for repeating the restriction applicable to the initial occurrence of /*c*/. It has already been pointed out that according to Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ there cannot be any alternations in the basic views of ancient authorities. As already stated he is also anxious to show that Naṉṉūl is not against Tolkāppiyam. Therefore Civañaṉacuvāmikaḷ explains that in the age of Tolkāppiyam, the words in which /*ca*/ occurred in dialectic words and Sanskrit words were not frequent and therefore Tolkāppiyam did not mention them[52].

2.2.3.2.3.15 Naṉṉūl is not going against Tolkāppiyam in accepting that the short vowel is nothing more than a symbol. According to Caṅkaranamaccivāyar the short vowel comes there only in the written form. Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ admits that it occurs in the sound form also and he points out that therefore it occurs as a separate metrical foot.[53]

2.9.3.2.3.16 On page 83 he gives his conception of *sandhiaksara* and interprets Naṉṉūl *sūtra* accordingly. In this place he has to criticise Caṅkaranamaccivāyar and others who

52. Ibid p. 72.

53. Ibid p. 73.

interpret this Nannūl *sūtra* as referring to *pōli.* His conclusion is that such an explanation is of no grammatical value and further that this will be going against the use of Sanskrit grammar.

2.2.3.2.3.17 *Sūtra* 72 in Nannūl is explained much more clearly so as to remind us of the Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 13 and 14 which are true to the intention of Civañānacuvāmikaḷ that Nannūl should be expressing the views of Tolkāppiyam.

2.2.3.2.3.18 On page 139 in explaining the forms *toṇṇūṟu* cnd *toḷḷāyiram* Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, it was pointed out, had some kind of hazy notion about what is called distant assimilation. But Civañānacuvāmikaḷ wants to show that Nannūl simply follows Tolkāppiyam. *munnatin* is not suggesting a simile but is an ablative of motion. He interprets the word '*muraṇi* to give us all the views of Tolkāppiyam In this we do not find any understanding of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's position but only a slavish following of Tolkāppiyām.

2.2.3.2.3.19 On page 189 he seems to be contradicting his own position in criticising Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam. He has not changed the example *toṭaiyal* for /-al/ occurring as a *cāriyai.* But he has suggested elsewhere that the /-al/ in this *sūtra* should be taken as /nal/. But he does not repeat his suggestion here probably growing wiser.

2.2.3.2.3.20 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar, wherever he begins to explain a *sandhi* rule, will point out what has already been laid down is altered or confirmed etc. But he does not mention anywhere what has thus been already stated. Civañānacuvāmikaḷ in his corrections gives us these explanations which are useful for the students in learning the *sūtras.*

2.2.4 RĀMĀṈUCAKKAVIRĀYAR'S COMMENTARY ON NAṈṈŪL

2.2 4.1 COMMENTARY OF *Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar*:

Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar has written a commentary on Naṉṉūl for the people of the nineteenth century. This commentary is important to show that Naṉṉūl still continues to be the authority and that whatever view which the later grammarians want to put forward that is done only on the commentary on Naṉṉūl.

2.2.4.2 PLACES WHERE HE FOLLOWS *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar*:

Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar was the disciple of Cōmacuntarakkavirāyar who was himself a disciple of Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. But this did not make him to follow Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ slavishly. In the following places he does not add the corrections made by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ and prefers to follow Caṅkaranamaccivāyar.

The explanations about (1) *uruvu tirital*[1], (2) *uyiraḷapeṭai*[2], (3) *nuntai*[3], (4) the discussion of Avinayam on *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and on *aikārakkuṟukkam, aukārakkuṟukkam* and also *kuṟṟiyalukara-k-kuṟukkam*[4], (5) the explanation about Tolkāppiyam omitting /*ca*/ etc.[5], (6) the explanation

1. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 34.
2. Ibid 36
3. Ibid 39
4. Ibid 39, 40.
5. Ibid 51

about the short vowel coming in the *uyiraḷapeṭai* not as a mere written symbol[6] and (7) the explanation about *sandhi akṣara*[7] and the numeral *toḷḷāyiram* etc.[8]

2.2.4.3 PLACES WHERE *Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar* FOLLOWING *Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ*:

But in other places he is true to Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. Under Naṉṉūl 7, the example *param* "that which is pre-eminent" is given. Under Naṉṉūl 17 the *sūtra* is stated to be *iṉamaṭaittal*. Under Naṉṉūl 18 he explains the *kiṭakkai muṟai* "order". Under Naṉṉūl 33 he has *ciṟitu ciṟitu* instead of *ciṟitu*. Under Naṉṉūl 53 he omits Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's sentence *kuṟṟuyir eḻuttaṉṟu*. Under 108 and 109 he omits the words '*eytātatu eytuvittal*'. In Naṉṉūl 127 he does not give the example *teḷkiṉkaṭumai* etc. In Naṉṉūl 139 he omits the word *pa:ṭakaṟṟi* but follows Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ in quoting Tolkāppiyam.

2.2.4.4. PLACES WHERE HE QUOTES FROM OTHER AUTHORS:

2.2.4.41 *Iḷampūraṇar* and *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar*: He quotes from other authors like Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Mayilainātar. Under *sūtra* 17 he states that *poruḷ* also leads to mean *sandhi* following the statements of Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.[9] Under 32 he refers to *iyaṟkai-y-aḷapeṭai* "natural *aḷapeṭai*" where the original form is self contained and *ceyaṟkai-y-aḷapeṭai* "artificial *aḷapeṭai*" as in other places.

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6. Ibid 36
7. Ibid 70
8. Ibid 139
9. See the commentaries of Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar under TE 41.

Under 103 he follows Iḷampūraṇar and gives the example *katirññeri* etc. In this way Rāmānucakkavirāyar tries to points out rules in Naṉṉūl, for usages found by Iḷampūraṇar but not stated specifically by Pavaṇanti.

2.2.4.42 *Mayilainātar*: In the following places he quotes Mayilainātar's wordings. Under Naṉṉūl 36 he points out *taṉinilai* will be included under the other three viz., initial, medial and final positions.

Under 101 he quotes Mayilainātar in explaining how the *ceyyuḷ vikāram* can be brought under *sandhi vikāram.* So also he gives the wording from Mayilainātar in his commentary on *sūtra* 101.

2.2.4.43 *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* **and its commentary:**

2.2.4.431 Quotations: In the following places he quotes from the commentary on Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam though some of these can be traced back to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary. He shows that Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam in spite of the criticism of Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ continued to be popular and authoritative. See under *sūtra* 9 relating to *nātam*; see under 32 the meaning of *aṇpal*; this is the meaning given by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and this is criticised by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. Under 112 he gives the form like *ammā*, *koṟṟā*, *vaṭakaṭàl* etc., following Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam. Under 115 following Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam he provides for forms *palāam* and *cilāam*.

Under 117 following Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam he provides for *ḷam*/ *cāriyai* when CV̌CV̄ >CV̌CV̌.[10] Under 122 following Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam he provides for the ordinary doubling rule in *vēṟṟumai*[11].

10. *naṟā* >*naṟa-v-am* "honey"
11. *āppi+kuḷircci*>*āppi-k-kuḷircci* "the coldness of the cowdung".

Under 131 he follows Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam almost quoting it with reference to the *nilaimoḻi* as *peruntìcai* "the four cardinal points" and *varumoḻi* as *ciṟuticai* "the four intermediate directions" etc., though this idea is found also in the commentaries of Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.

The optional occurrence of /*am*/ with reference to the forms *piraṅkōṭu* and *kumiḻaṅkōṭu*[12] and the loss of /*y*/ in *vēyātu* "which is the bamboo" are included under 169 following Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam. Some of the *cāriyais* end in the final increment /*u*/ according to Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam and this is repeated under *sūtra* 168 by Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar.

2.2.4.432 Criticism against *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam:* Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar however points out certain opinions with which he is not in full agreement with Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam. Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam explains the form *pāḻṅkiṇaṟu* as a declensional compound whilst others have taken it as a *karmatārayaṉ*[13]. Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam interprets it as "a well, lying inside a ruined place". Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar does not admit this but gives it as the opinion of others who have told that even in *vēṟṟumai* there is *uṟaḻcci.*

2.2.4.5 READINGS ADOPTED BY *Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar* :

There are a few readings suggested by Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar. In Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 34 '*vaṭivoḻittu*' is the original reading. The reading adopted by Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar is '*vaṭivoḷittu*'. This was originally arisen in Tinnevelly Manuscripts where

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12. "the branches of *pīr* and *kumiḻ* trees"
13. <Skt. *karmadhāraya* "Appositional compound noun made up of two nouns in which '*ākiya*' the particle of apposition is understood."

/l/ and /ḷ/ have fallen together. Rāmānucakkavirāyar, however, justifying this position interprets the word as "the form hiding within themselves".

Under Nannūl 43 the original reading is *ekara-v-okara mey puḷḷi*'. But he has given as '*ēkāra-v-ōkāramey puḷḷi*'. The reason given by him is that in his time people use to write a dot on the long /e/ and /o/ and therefore one has to take note of this new usage and omit the older usage which is no longer in force. He also quotes the last Nannūl *sūtra* '*paḻaiyana kaḻitalum putiyana pukutalum vaḻuvala kāla vakaiyināna*' to justify this.

Under 146 for the old reading '*munvarin iyalpē*' he gives the reading *munvali iyalpē* perhaps he might have found a reading in some manuscripts. This makes the environment clearer and therefore probably preferred by him.

Under 147 we have the reading '*irraḻipōṭu*'. instead of '*irraḻi vōṭu*'. This is rather an ancient usage because in later times /p/ > /v/ after a semivowel and a vowel.

2.2.4.6 PORTIONS OF *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's* COMMENTARY OMITTED BY *Rāmānucakkavirāyar.*

2.2.4.61 He omits certain portions of the commentary by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar which criticise the views of Mayilainātar. Mayilainātar was probably not widely read in the age of Rāmānucakkavirāyar and therefore he thinks that the opinion of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar became well established and need not be further complicated to the reference to Mayilainātar and to the criticism thereon.

The criticism on the reading '*aḷapu*' in Naṉṉūl 40 is omitted. Taking *sūtra* 54 as *ciṅkanōkku*[14], Caṅkaranamaccivāyar criticises Mayilainātar for taking it as *āṟṟoḻukku*[15]. But Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar omitted this criticism. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's criticism on taking the *pōli* under medial clustering is also omitted. So also Mayilainātar's interpretation of the phrase *muṉṉatiṉ ēṉaiya muraṇi* under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 139.

Under *sūtra* 152 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar's criticism on Mayilainātar's reading '*ēvaṟkuṟā*' is also omitted.

2.2.4.62 Omitted for other reasons: In other places he has omitted certain portions of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar for other reasons. He does not take explanation of *karuvi* and *ceykai* given by Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. Because he looks upon *karuvi* as *akattilakkaṇam* and the rest as *puṟattilakkaṇam*.

2.2.4.63 Portions of *Caṅkaranamaccivāyar* and *Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ's* commentaries omitted by *Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar*: Since Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar follows Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam he does not equate Naṉṉūl *sūtra* with Tolkāppiyam about *noyyavaṉā*[16] etc., as done by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar and Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ.

He also omits the references to *māyai* "primordial matter" under *sūtra* 3 because that raises the philosophical and religious differences.

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14. "A mode of setting a *sūtra* in a treatise".
15. Ibid.
16. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 103; "suffer (you) Greek".

Under 42 he does not emphasise that there should be two sounds on either side of *āytam* for getting its quantity to be diminished. Even elsewhere Caṅkaranamaccivāyar insists on sounds preceding and following for any diminution in quantity.[17] Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar does not emphasise this probably because he does not agree to this.

Under 48 the importance of *iyalpeḻum* is not elaborated probably because by his time the importance has become self evident.

Under 96 he does not repeat the statement that *ticaiccol* etc., come under the four kinds of words. By the time of Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar the four kinds of words assumed an importance overshadowing other differences.

Under 104 he does not explain that only /ḻ/ has been omitted and *uyartiṇai* has been mentioned last. For Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar these must have become common places. So also under 106 he does not explain *muṉṉilaiviṉai* nor does he show any example for /ḻ/ ending etc.

Under 109 he does not repeat the criticism against those who hold that *kuṟṟiyalukaram* behaves like a consonant. This is because that the view came to be held as of no importance.

Under 119 he does not repeat that *nāḻiyuri* is not a grammatical form. This must be because he has found that form is not occurring or he thinks that portion is not much of theoretical importance.

Under 123 he does not repeat that *mī* occurs in declensional compounds. Here also this position must have been very clear to every reader.

17. See Under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 122.

Under 124 he does not say that the *cāriyai ām* suffers an ellipsis after *mūṉṟu* and *āṟu*, perhaps he does not find that explanation necessary.

Under 132 the form *tēṅkāy* "coconut" has become so very frequent and the explanation made by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar that only initial syllable becomes lengthened is unnecessary.

Under 140 he does not take *āytam* as *iṭaiāytam*.[18] He interprets it as *keṭṭa iṭattu āytamākum*. Therefore Caṅkarānamaccivāyar's explanation becomes unnecessary.

Under 147 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar writes "*takutiyākkātu ēṟpaṉa eṉṟamaiyāṉ mullai-p-puṟavameṉa variṉuṅ koḷka*".[19] But Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar brings out the force of *um* so as to provide these forms.

Under 163 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar adds that the plosive is the /ṟ/ which is related to /ṉ/. Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar feels that this is so clear and requires no specific mention.

2.2.4.64 Portions omitted by ***Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar*** **because he thinks them unnecessary:** Under 33 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar raises the question about the importance of the script form and points out the *mantras* written in the sacred ash. But the script form became so much confused with sound by the time of Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar and that is why he does not take those explanations.

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18. Caṅkaranamaccivāyar states that *oru]pattu > pa°°tu*; According to Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar *pattu > paφtu > pa°°tu*.

19. Generally *mullai + puṟavam > mullai-y-am puṟavam* "jasmine grove"; but the same rule can be extended to usages like *mullai-p-puṟavam* without an /am/ *cāriyai*.

Under 35 Caṅkaranamaccivāyar brings out the importance of *āytappuḷḷi* because as he pointed out that the old form is not followed by his times. By the time of Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar the old form has been restored and so that the latter does not state any explanation.

Under 97 Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar does not refer to the different ways of taking *vēṟṟumai viri* as one *sandhi* or three *sandhis*. Because by his time that the view consisting of one *sandhi* became well established. So also like Caṅkaranamaccivāyar he does not refer to the views of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar holding *viṉaittokai* etc., as single words.

Under 167 he does not weave out the rule for *añciṟai-t-tumpi* "bee with beautiful wings" because it is possibie to argue that word might have been interpreted as "beautiful wings of the bee'.

He even goes against the views of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar and Civañāṉacuvāmikaḷ. They had explained the *ceyyuḷ vikāram* as something happening in poetry as the *marūu* found in ordinary colloquial usage. The words which suffer a loss in the initial position, in the final position or in the medial position are also of ancient usage in their diminished form. Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar does not agree with them since this diminution of words is linked down to the six kinds of changes occurring in words when used in poetry; these also should be taken as happening whenever metrical exigency arises. He thinks that *orumoḻi* "one word" means *ovvorumoḻi* "each and every word". He gives the example of *kāṇpataritu* occurring as *kāṇparitu* in Tirukkuṟaḷ[20], which

20. Tirukkuṟaḷ, *vāṉ ciṟappu* couplet 6.

cannot be looked upon as following any ancient usage, but which are necessitated by metrical reasons. He further points out that such diminution also occurs in the colloquial language. The examples he gives here are very significant because they throw a flood of light on the changing pronunciation by the time of Rāmaṉucakkavirāyar.

1. *irāppakal* "day and night" > *rāppakal*
2. *ilaikkaṟi* "Herbs or leaves prepared for food" > *laikkaṟi*

   } Loss of the initial vowel

3. *nilāvutittatu* "The moon arose" > *lāvutittatu*

   } Loss of the initial syllable

4. *taṇṇīr* > *taṇṇī* "Cold water"
5. *vennīr* > *vennī* "hot water"

   } In these cases the final sound is lost.

For the medial loss he gives the following : *kēḷvaraku* > *kēvaraku* "ragi, a millet[21] etc. It is important to note that here Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar takes those of the colloquial usage. This is indeed a great contribution. Beschi has written a grammar on *koṭuntamiḻ*. But Beschi treats *koṭuntamiḻ* different from *centamiḻ* whereas even in this grammar on *centamiḻ* Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar refers to *koṭuntamiḻ* usages.

Similarly under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 69 he gives the following variant forms.

naṇṭu~*ñaṇṭu*~*ñeṇṭu* "crab"
nayam~*ñayam* "good"

21. See Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar's commentary under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 102.

nāyiṟu~*ñāyiṟu* "sun". This is the tendency which has arisen, in the Cola period, i. e. the palatal nasal came to be dentalised. He also refers to /y/ and /a/ coming as variants in the initial position[22].

yāṭu>*āṭu* "goat"
yāmai>*āmai* "tortoise"
yāṉai>*āṉai* "elephant"

Really speaking here is the loss of the initial palatal semivowel. Again Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 71 he speaks of the new *cāriyai* /*aṉa*/ and gives the examples *aiyaṉa*, *avvaṉa*. These must be the variants of the old forms *ayēṉam*. This *aṉa* is now pronounced as *aṉṉā* as in *aiyaṉṉā*.

He also points out probably based on the usage of his times, that the vowels are pronounced without any *cāriyai*.

Even in the age of Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar Tolkāppiyar seems to be occupying the pre-eminent position though it must be accepted that the number of scholars specialising Tolkāppiyam should have become very much reduced. We find Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar quoting Tolkāppiyam *sūtra* 284, 285, 286 under Naṉṉūl 148 and Tolkāppiyam 139 under Naṉṉūl 149 and Tolkāppiyam 341, 342 and 343 under Naṉṉūl 159.

2.2.4.7 CONTRIBUTION OF *Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar* :

The distinction between *akattilakkaṇam* and *puṟattilakkaṇam* instead of *karuvi* and *ceykai* is probably Rāmāṉucakkavirāyar's contribution. All the topics treated in *eḻuttiyal*

22. See under Naṉṉūl *sūtra* 69.

are belonged to *akattilakkaṉam* or interior, whereas the word construction and *sandhi* are considered as external to the word i.e. '*puṟattilakkaṉam*'[23]

One may note here the interpretation of *cārpeḻuttu* as contrasted with *mutal eḻuttu* as used in modern times often in the sense of "*capital*" for earning profit. There *mutal* really denotes the cause for the yield. So also the *mutal eḻuttu* are really the basic or material causes for the *cārpeḻuttus*. Because *cārpeḻuttus* come depending thus on the *mutal eḻuttus* they are called *cārpeḻuttu*[24].

There are a few grammatical peculiarities which he points out. But these belong to morphology. They are simply to be referred to without any discussion.

Under 39, he takes /*um*/ in *toṭaravum* as *etirmaṟai ummai* "particle of negation"

Under 64 he states that /*r*/ is a suffix morpheme which occurs following a single short open syllable.[25]

Under 97 he gives a new interpretation for *aṉmoḻi* as that compound which in its primary form though not in its secondary or compound meaning does not agree with the predicate[26].

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23. Ibid *sūtra* 2
24. Ibid *sūtra* 4
25. e.g. /*-ar*/ in *vantaṉar* "they came"; *vāḻntaṉar* "they lived". According to him the suffix /*-r*/ along with /*a-*/ forms a suffix.
26. "*payaṉilaikku allāta moḻi aṉmoḻi*"

Under 115 he points out that the phrase *tammuṉ tām variṉ* "when they occur before themselves" contemplates the *aṭukku* "reduplication" and therefore the rule applies to *alvaḻi sandhi.*

According to him *sūtra* 146 mentions the words *eṇ* and *cāṇ* only for referring the retroflex endings at these environments and he points out that this is a *lakṣaṇa* "secondary significative capacity of a word".

One other major contribution of him to the students of Naṉṉūl is that he often elucidates the syntactic structure of the *sūtras* especially under the following *sūtras*: 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 53, 55, 57, 64, 66, 68, 70 to 72, 96, 99, 102, 103, 104, 106 to 116, 118, 119, 122, 123, 129, 133 to 138, 140, 142, 148, 152, 154, 155, 156, 159, 166, 173, 174, 177, 184, 187, 190, 192, 198, 199.

His examples[27] from the colloquial usage of his times are very useful for understanding the pronunciation of his age and in that way it can be considered as another contribution of him.

27. See pages 460, 461 in this book.

2.3 TOṈṈŪL VIḶAKKAM AND NAṈṈŪL

2.3.1 ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Beschi who lived in Tamil Land in the first third quarter of the eighteenth century has written a grammar in Latin for the colloquial Tamil and another for literary Tamil. But he has also written a Tamil Grammar in the traditional manner of Tamil grammatical writers, in the form of *sūtras.* It is here he follows Naṉṉūl and therefore this work is important from that point of view.

2.3.2 COMPARISON

2.3.21 *Naṉṉūl* and *Toṉṉūl Viḷakkam*: The following table shows the relationship between Naṉṉūl *sūtras* and Toṉṉūl Viḷakkam (hereafter TV) *sūtras* though however in his *sūtras* he omits *paṉ* and *kaṉ* (in *sūtra* 25), and does not give rule for *tāḷakkōl* in *sūtra* 34.

TV *sūtra* No.	Corresponding Naṉṉūl *sūtras*
3	20
5	4, 5
6	95
7	7
8	8, 9, 10
9	13, 14, 15
13	35, 42
23	164
24	155
25	159, 162, 161, 160
26	172, 173, 174

27	68
28	130
29	181
30	169
32	116
33	117
34	170
35	103
36	150
37	100, 101

2.3.22 *Tolkāppiyam* **and** *Toṉṉūl Viḷakkam***:** The following table shows the relationship between the Tolkāppiyam *sūtras* and TV *sūtras.* This shows that how a foreign writer like Beschi is overpowered by Tolkāppiyam in his age so much so he refers in his grammar[1] the rules found in Tolkāppiyam, for instance, for *palām* and *cilām* which are no longer current in the age of Beschi.

TV *sūtra*	Tol. *sūtra*
14	411
19	7
31	214

2.3.23 Echoes from other authors: We see echoes from other commentators. We referred to the distinction between *mutal iṭam* and *tuṇai iṭam* where the commentator on Nēminātam made use of them when mentioning about the articulation of sounds. TV also uses these terms[2]. But it is difficult that TV mentions nose also along with teeth, tongue, palate and lips.

1. TV 31
2. Ibid 3

As against Nannūl which mentions that after /ē/ the glide may be /v/ or /y/ TV follows Iḷampūraṇar who speaks of only /y/ occurring after /ē/.[3] In discussing the *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam* he follows the original interpretation given by Mayilainātar.[4] Perhaps by the time of Beschi Caṅkara-namaccivāyar's commentary is not widespread.

In TV 31, Beschi, following Mayilainātar gives the rule for *palla*~*pala* and *cilla*~*cila*.[5]

2.3.3 *Sūtras* IN *Naṉṉūl* OMITTED BY *TV*.

The following *sūtras* in Naṉṉūl are omitted by TV. Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 6, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 21 to 34, 46, 54, 55 to 72, 96, 97, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110 to 114, 118 to 128, 131 to 149, 151 to 154, 156 to 158, 163, 165 to 169, 171, 175 to 180, 182 to 202 thus have no correspondence in TV. This is important for showing that TV does not want to confuse the reader by giving the elaborate rules for *sandhi*, clustering, articulation etc.

2.3.4 SCHEME OF TV:

Beschi divides his chapter on phonology into three parts. The first deals with what he calls *tōṟṟam* which others call *piṟappu* i.e. articulation. The second part deals with *vakuppu* or the various kinds of divisions of sounds. The third division consists of *puṇarcci* or *sandhi*.[6]

3. Ibid 20
4. Ibid 16
5. Ibid 31
6. Ibid 2

The articulation of sounds is dismissed in one *sūtra* which speaks of the throat as the proper place for vowels, semivowels, while the plosives have chest and *ucci* is given for the nasals. This is something new and it is not clear where he got this last idea. He calls these *mutal iṭam* and calls the lips, the nose, the palate, the teeth and tongue as *tuṇai iṭam*[7].

The second part dealing with *vakuppu* refers to the following kinds of divisions which gives us twenty three ways of looking at sounds: *mutal, cārpu, uyir, vali, meli, iṭai, mey*: initial sounds, final sounds, *kuṟil, neṭil, āytam, kuṟṟiyalukaram, kuṟṟiyalikaram, aikāra-k-kuṟukkam, aukāra-k-kuṟukkam, makara-k-kuṟukkam, āyta-k-kuṟukkam* (i.e. six *kuṟukkams,*) two *aḷapeṭais* viz., *uyir* and *oṟṟu*, *māttirai* or quantity, and *puṇarpu* or *sandhi*[8]. It is clear here that he follows Naṉṉūl for giving ten kinds of *cārpu.* He also mentions the peculiar sounds found in Tamil viz., /*o*/, /*e*/, /*ṟ*/, /*ṉ*/, /*ḻ*/ and all kinds of *cārpeḻuttu* except *uyirmey, uyiraḷapeṭai* which according to him are found in Sanskrit[9]. It is clear that Beschi takes *uyiraḷapeṭai* as merely a *plūta.*

Under the initial sounds he omits /*ṅ*/ as against Naṉṉūl[10] Similarly in the final sounds he omits /*ñ*/, /*n*/, /*e*/, /*o*/ and /*au*/.[11] This is understandable because in actual usage of the eighteenth century these have never occurred. But it is interesting to note that he has omitted *kuṟṟiyalukaram* perhaps following Tolkāppiyam.

7. Ibid 3
8. Ibid 4
9. Ibid 6
10.–11. Ibid 10

With reference to *uyirmey* he does not deal with the script form at all. He explains the *uyirmey* as a combination of a vowel and a consonant[12]. In giving the written form there is an interesting *sūtra*[13]. The commentary on TV speaks of '*nīṇṭa puḷḷi*' or line above the short syllable and '*cuḻitta puḷḷi*' or dot above the consonant. By *puḷḷi*, evidently the author means a diacritic mark. Beschi's reform of the script by which the long /ē/ and /ō/ rather than the short /e/ and /o/ got the diacritic mark had not yet been introduced when he wrote his *Tēmpāvaṇi*[14]. He states that when two vowels come together the second vowel is changed into the glide. This is what is found in the commentary. What he probably meant is that the glide forms a syllable with the second vowel.

Some of the *sandhi* rules with reference to *kuṟṟiyalukaram* and *muṟṟiyalukaram* are given whilst defining *cārpeḻuttu*[15]. The *uṭampaṭumey* is also mentioned under *vakuppu*.[16]

The third division deals with *vikāram*. He speaks of four *vikārams*[17]. The fourth is *tiraṭṭu* or *kalappu* which refers to two vowels coming together and becoming one long vowel as in *dīrgha sandhi*, *guṇa sandhi*, *vṛddhi sandhi* etc. Because of the form of the technical term *alvaḻi* Beschi speaks of *vēṟṟumai vaḻi*. His explanation here is interesting

12. Ibid 11
13. Ibid 12
14. An epic poem on the life of Joseph, the father of Christ written in 1726 A. D.
15. TV *sūtra* 15
16. Ibid 20
17. Ibid 21

and important. He applies these two terms only to nouns viz., *vēṟṟumai-p-poruṭpeyar* and *alvaḻi-p-poruṭpeyar*[18] where when no case sign can occur, it is taken as *alvaḻi*, and when there is a case sign it is considered to be *vēṟṟumai* though as already stated this is implied by the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar.

He uses the word *aṭaimoḻi*[19] with reference to the first word in *paṇputtokai* or attributive construction.

He divides the *vikārams* into two viz., *puṇarcci vikāram* and *puṇarcciyil vikāram*[20]. *puṇarcci vikāram* occurs when two words come together in *sandhi*. *puṇarcciyil vikāram* occurs within individual words themselves. They are, according to the commentary, of seven kinds: [1] *tōṉṟal* where there is an increment at the end- e. g. *kuṉṟu>kuṉṟam* "hill"; [2] *tirital*- alternation where *māci>māki*; [3] *keṭutal* or loss where /ya/ > /a/ where the initial palatal is lost in the first syllable; [4] lengthening i.e. the initial syllable is lengthened - e. g. *poḻutu>pōtu* "time"; [5] *nilai māṟutal* or metathesis- e. g. *vaikāci>vaicāki* "name of a month"; [6] *maruvi vaḻaṅkutal* or the telescoping of words in ordinary usages- e.g. *eṉṟantai>entai* "my father" [This will come under Naṉṉūl 184]. [7] *ottu naṭattal* is really *pōli*- e.g. *naṇṭu ~ñaṇṭu~ñeṇṭu* "crab".

At the end of the chapter on *eḻuttu* there is a *sūtra* summarising what has been dealt with. Under this *sūtra* the commentary states that the various kinds of 23 divisions of

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18. Ibid 22
19. Ibid 30
20. See under TV *sūtra* 37.

sounds tell us to understand the nature of the sounds. The sounds /ṇ/, /n/, /m/, /ṉ/, /l/, /ḷ/, /t/ undergo change whilst others do not thus undergo change. Thus is explained according to the commentary the nature of sounds[21].

At the end of *eḻuttatikāram* there is a short summary of other grammars. It is not clear whether it is written by Beschi or not. But it is an interesting summary.

21. TV *sūtra* 40; see the commentary also under this.

2.4 MUTTU VĪRIYAM AND NAṈṈŪL

2.4.1 AUTHOR

Muttu Vīriyam (=MV) is by Muttu Vīra Upāttiyāyar of the nineteenth century. He is said to be the contemporary of Mahavidwan Meenakshisundaram Pillai. By his time some *sūtras* attributed to *Agastya* have become popular. Some of the *sūtras* have been printed by Bavanandam Pillai. Most of them give the Sanskrit equivalents to the grammatical terms.

2.4.2 COMMENTARY OF *Muttu Vīriyam*:

There is one commentary on MV written by Tiruppāṟkaṭanātaṉ Kavirāyar of Tirunelvēli. The commentary is not elaborate and most often it gives only examples without any elaboration.

2.4.3 SYNONYMS:

One of the characteristic features of MV is, it gives the synonyms for the technical terms. They are given below in a chart.

Synonyms given by Muttu Vīriyam

MV *sūtra* No.	Technical terms	Synonyms
3	*eḻuttu*	*irēkai, vari, poṟi*
7	*uyir*	*accu, āvi, curam, pūtam*
9	*kuṟil*	*kuṟumai, iraccuvam*
11	*neṭil*	*neṭumai, tīrkkam*

13	*uṭal*	*ūmai, oṟṟu*
15	*valleḻuttu*	*vaṉmai, vaṉkaṇam, vali*
17	*melleḻuttu*	*meṉmai, meṉkaṇam, meli*
19	*iṭai-y-eḻuttu*	*iṭaimai, iṭaikkaṇam, iṭai*
23	*cārpu*	*pullal, cārtal, puṇartal*
28	*āytam*	*a:kēṉam, taṉinilai*
30	*viṉā*	*viṉāval, kaṭāval*
33	*aḷapeṭai*	*aḷapu, pulutam*
66	*puṇarcci*	*caṅkam, caiyōkam, mayakkam, pullal, kalattal*

2.4.4 SCHEME OF *Muttu Vīriyam*:

Eḻuttatikāram consists of three parts; first is *eḻuttiyal*, the second is *moḻi-y-iyal* which corresponds to Naṉṉūl *patavival*. In addition he gives the Sanskrit *sandhi*. The third part is called *puṇariyal* which corresponds to the three *iyals* in Naṉṉūl and corresponds to the five *iyals* on *sandhi* in Tolkāppiyam. His idea is that the rule should be given not in a complicated way but in simple sentences which do not go beyond three lines. Most of the *sūtras* are one line each. For example see Naṉṉūl 8 and MV *sūtra* 6. In *eḻuttiyal* also he follows Naṉṉūl. But he is a great Tolkāppiyam scholar. Therefore here also he quotes Tolkāppiyam *sūtras*.[1] But in discussing the articulation of sounds he prefers Naṉṉūl rather than Tolkāppiyam.[2] One other characteristic feature of MV is that there is alliteration in every line. He repeats the

1. Compare MV *sūtras* 34, 36, 40, 41, 42, 87, 88, 90, 91, 94, 95, 103 and 106 with TE *sūtras* 411, 36, 105, 16, 106, 74, 77, 81, 10, 46, 3 and 58 respectively.
2. Especially compare MV *sūtras* 43, 46, 50, 52, 53, 56 and 57, with Naṉṉūl *sūtras* 75, 78, 80, 82, 83, 85 and 86 respectively.

articulation of /y/ given in Naṉṉūl. In some places it is seen that MV follows TV with small changes. It was noted that TV speaks of *ucci* as the place of nasals. This idea is found also in MV.[3]

In the *puṇariyal* he more or less uniformly follows Tolkāppiyam. But even here he follows Naṉṉūl in explaining *alvaḻi*, glide and others.[4]

2.4.5 OTHER EXPLANATIONS:

2.4.51 It is interesting to note that he speaks of only two *ōcais* viz., *eṭuttal* and *paṭuttal*[5] and he does not speak of *nalital*.

2.4.52 He speaks of eight kinds of *aḷapeṭai*: [1] *iyaṟka aḷapeṭai* which occurs naturally when a man is called or when anything is sold and when one cries; [2] *ceyaṟkai aḷapeṭai* is what occurs in poetry because of metrical exigency; [3] *iṉṉicai aḷapeṭai* is the *aḷapeṭai* of the short vowel; [4] *collicai aḷapeṭai*

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3. Especially see the following table which compares TV and MV.

	TV	MV
Sūtra No.	3	43
	11	24
	13	25
	17	38

4. Compare MV *sūtra* 6 and Naṉṉūl 97 for *alvaḻi*; MV 23 and Naṉṉūl 107 about glide; MV 80 and Naṉṉūl 114 about the form *cāva*; MV 84 and Naṉṉūl 115 about *pala* and *cila*; MV 66 and Naṉṉūl 246 about *ellārum* and *ellīrum*; MV 91 is a quotation from Naṉṉūl (117) etc.

5. MV *sūtra* 59 "*eṭuttal paṭuttal iraṇṭē ōcai*"

is the *aḷapeṭai* where it denotes a morpheme; [5] *neṭil aḷapeṭai* and [6] *kuṟil aḷapeṭai*; (This seems to be overlapping with other kinds of *aḷapeṭais*); [7] *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is spoken of as another kind of *aḷapeṭai* and [8] *eḻuttuppēṟaḷapeṭai*. According to Tolkāppiyam rules the short vowels occur after the long vowels. MV calls them *eḻuttu p-pēṟu* "an addition of letter" and for the purpose of explaining such older usages he provides for *eḻuttu-p-pēṟaḷapeṭai*.[6] This shows that in the older examples one has vowel clusters as already mentioned.

2 4.53 **About** *cārpeḻuttu*: There is also his conception of *cārpeḻuttu*. The synonymys for *cārpu* are *pullal*, *cārtal* and *puṇartal*. Therefore according to him the *cārpeḻuttu* is that which occurs in particular environments, that is being in *sandhi* with other sounds.[7] Even as primary sounds of two categories viz., vowels and consonants, he states a two-fold division. They are the *uyirmey* and *āytam*.[8] He does not look upon other kinds of *cārpu* as *cārpu* though he speaks about them.

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6. MV *sūtra* 32
7. MV *sūtra* 23
8. MV *sūtra* 22

2.5 OTHER COMMENTATORS AND WRITERS ON NANNŪL

There are other commentaries also. One such is by Ūṟṟaṅkāl Āṇṭi-p-pulavar There is also another commentary viz., *kūḻaṅkai-t-tampirāṉ urai*. Unfortunately both are not available now.

Vicāka-p-perumāḷ Iyer, Āṟumuka Nāvalar, Gopalakrishnamacariyar and Caṭakōparāmānucāccāriyār have written *kāṇṭikai urais* "brief commentaries" explaining in simpler terms the ideas found in Naṉṉūl. They have omitted therein complicated discussions with reference to the points of contrast with Tolkāppiyam and other grammarians and commentators. Āṟumuka Nāvalar has also added questions under each chapter. These are important only for the purpose of showing that even when authors want to write hand books in Tamil grammar they follow Naṉṉūl.

Besides these, in 1952 the Government Oriental Manuscripts library of Madras has published a "brief commentary" whose author is unknown. It generally follows the previous commentaries. It is available upto *collatikāram sūtra* 13. It is said that one Kumāracāmi-p-pulavar and the famous editor Pavānantam Piḷḷai have also written short commentaries on Naṉṉūl with the aim of teaching Tamil grammar in an easy way. The present writer did not see these works.

Naṉṉūl laku pōtam or Naṉṉūl made easy, is by Muttu Tambi of Jaffna. He, in the form of questions and answers explained the ideas of Naṉṉūl with suitable examples.

In a recent book M. V. Aravindan refers to the commentaries on Naṉṉūl written by Caravaṇapperumāḷ Iyer, Cantiracēkara kaviráca paṇṭitar and Bavanandam Pillai which he himself has not included under the chapter called *Naṉṉūl uraiyāciriyarkaḷ.*[1] The present writer has no occasion to see these.

The grammar written by Sir P. Ramanathan of Jaffnaa though he does not attempt any commentary, certainly follows Naṉṉūl. The same may be said about various grammars written by foreigners like Rhenius, Pope and others. Even Dr. Caldwell follows Naṉṉūl though not in giving the pronunciation of the various sounds. He explains the articulation of sounds as he heard them. Unfortunately he had not any contact with Tolkāppiyam because as already stated, the study of Tolkāppiyam is eclipsed on account of the popularity of Naṉṉūl. Dr. Caldwell refers to the terms *uyireḻuttu, uyirmeyyeḻuttu, valliṉam, melliṉam, itai-y-iṉam.* He is very much struck by the words *uyir, mey* and *uyirmey.* According to him "Tamil grammarians designate vowels by a beautiful metaphor, as '*uyir*' or the life of a word; consonants as '*mey*' or the body; and the junction of a vowel and consonant as *uyirmey* or an animated body"[2].

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar deals with *sandhi* rules, etc. on the basis of Naṉṉūl, though for explaining modern pronunciation he relies on his own observation.[3]

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1. *Uraiyāciriyarkaḷ*, Maṇivācakar Nūlakam, Chidambaram, 1968.
2. A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages, p. 132.
3. Collected papers of L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, (Mimeo), Annamalai University, 1960.

3. EPILOGUE

The study thus comes to a close. It has been made with he pre-Naṉṉūl and also the post-Naṉṉūl works.

3.1

The comparisons have disclosed certain clarifications and improvements in the phraseology and arrangement of Naṉṉūl. In every chapter this has been pointed out.

3.2

An attempt has been made for pointing out some inconsistencies which force on our mind when we compare these works.

3.3

It has been pointed out that Naṉṉūl has not been uniform in its approach in various places. It may be possible that future studies may explain them under a wider principle of uniformity.

3.4

This thesis had for its main object bringing together of all the eminent evidences for further research by the wider world of international research. Therefore this thesis is not attempted to emphasise only the essentials. As this last chapter is the best place for pointing out the restrictions followed and the scope for future research one may devote a few lines on these.

3.41 No attempt has been made to evaluate the individual contributions made by the grammarians studied here though they have been pointed out with reference to some authors. That will be a study in the future.

3.42 No attempt was also made to study the contact with Prakrit and Sanskrit grammars and grammatical principles so as to evaluate the place and importance of such contact in shaping the grammatical principles in Tamil.

3.43 No attempt was made to evaluate these grammatical principles from the point of view of historical linguistics though in some places this has been made half-heartedly.

3.44 It is possible to use these grammars for writing the history of the Tamil language to the extent it is possible. This also had not been attempted in this thesis. But the detailed explanations of these grammars given in this book will be of immense help to such attempts.

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12. ——, *Pāyira virutti*, Ilakkaṇa-k-kottu, (Edn.) Arumugha Navalar, Madras, 1952.

13. ——, *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi* (Edn.) Arumugha Navalar, Madras, 1952.

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